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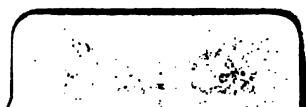
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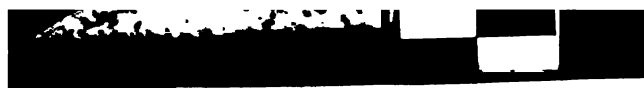




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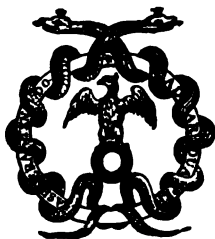
HEADS OF AN ANALYSIS  
OF THE  
HISTORY OF GREECE:

FOR THE USE OF  
STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITIES AND THE  
UPPER CLASSES IN SCHOOLS.

BY

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## NOTICE.

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IN this little work I have followed the method adopted in my *Heads of an Analysis of Roman History*. Besides mentioning my obligations to the numerous authorities cited in this work, I have nothing to add except the acknowledgment due to the very kind assistance rendered me throughout by my friends the Rev. James Lonsdale, M.A., Fellow of Balliol College, and the Rev. John G. Sheppard, M.A., late Fellow of Wadham College, and Head Master of Kidderminster Grammar School.


*Royal Institution School, Liverpool,*  
*July, 1853.*



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# ANALYSIS

OF

## THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

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THE interest of Grecian history is unexhausted and inexhaustible. As a mere story, hardly any other portion of authentic history can compete with it. Its characters, its situations, the very march of its incidents, are epic. It is an heroic poem, of which the personages are peoples. It is also, of all histories of which we know so much, the most abounding in consequences to us who now live. The true ancestors of the European nations (it has been well said) are not those from whose blood they are sprung, but those from whom they derive the richest portion of their inheritance. The battle of Marathon, even as an event in English history, is more important than the battle of Hastings. If the issue of that day had been different, the Britons and the Saxons might still have been wandering in the woods.

The Greeks are also the most remarkable people who have yet existed. Not, indeed, if by this be meant those who have approached nearest (if such an expression may be used where all are at so immeasurable a distance) to the perfection of social arrangements or of human character. Their institutions, their way of life, even that which is their greatest distinction—the cast of their sentiments and development of their faculties—were radically inferior to the best (we wish it could be said to the collective) products of modern civilization. It is not the results achieved, but the power and efforts required to make the achievement, that measure their greatness as a people. They were the beginners of nearly everything (Christianity excepted) of which the modern world makes its boast. If in several things they were but few removes apart from it, they alone among nations, so far as is known to us, emerged from barbarism by their own efforts, not following in the track of any more advanced people. If with them, as in all antiquity, slavery existed as an institution, they were not the less the originators of political freedom, and the grand exemplars and sources of it to modern Europe. If their discords, jealousies, and wars between city and city, caused the ruin of their national independence, yet the arts of war and government evolved in those intestine contests made them the first who united great empires under civilized rule—the first who broke down those barriers of petty nationality, which had been so fatal to themselves—and, by making Greek ideas and language common to large regions of the earth, commenced that general fusion of races and nations, which, followed up by the Romans, prepared the way for the cosmopolitanism of modern times.

'They were the first people who had an historical literature; as perfect of its kind (though not the highest kind) as their oratory, their poetry, their sculpture, and their architecture. They were the founders of mathematics; of physics; of the inductive study of politics, so early exemplified in Aristotle; of the philosophy of human nature and life. In each they made the indispensable first steps, which are the foundation of all the rest—steps such as could only have been made by minds intrinsically capable of everything which has since been accomplished. With a religious creed eminently unfavourable to speculation, because affording a ready supernatural solution of all natural phenomena, they yet originated freedom of thought. They, the first, questioned nature and the universe by their rational faculties, and brought forth answers not suggested by any established system of priestcraft; and their free and bold spirit of speculation it was, which, surviving in its results, broke the yoke of another enthralling system of popular religion, sixteen hundred years after they had ceased to exist as a people. These things were effected in two centuries of national existence;—twenty and upwards have since elapsed, and it is sad to think how little, comparatively, has been accomplished.'—*E. R.*

### **Name of Greece.**

'The name Greece (*Græcia*) has come to us from the Romans, and the name Greeks also comes from the Latin word *Græci*. The *Græci* (*Γραικοί*), however, were only one of the ancient tribes of Epirus (*Aristot. Meteor.* i. 14), and never became of any historical importance. In the Greek authors the country comprehended within the above limits is called *Hellas*, though *Hellas* was also used to denote the country of the *Hellènes*, wherever they might be settled, and was applied at first only to Thessaly, but afterwards to Midland Greece in contradistinction to Peloponnesus.'—*K. N. C.*

'The name *Hellas* was at first used only of a small part of Thessaly (cf. *Hom. Il.* ii. 684); later of all Thessaly, and afterwards of all Midland Greece in contradistinction to the Peloponnesus. After the Persian war the Peloponnesus was also included in the name, and later still (after the Macedonian war), all Greece.

'The name of *Achæans*, strictly speaking, belonged only to a tribe of South Thessaly, where *Achæus* the son of *Xuthus* was supposed to have ruled; but in a secondary sense the name is applied to the rest of Greece, and particularly to the Peloponnesus, of which the descendants of *Achæus* had made themselves masters.'—*P.*

### **The Language of Greece.**

'The Greek language forms a branch of that extensive family of languages which are known by the name of Indo-Germanic, to which belong the Sanscrit, the Zend, the Teutonic languages, and others. The affinity which subsists between all these languages is evident, not merely from the number of words which are common to them all, but also from the similarity of their grammatical forms. The same words are used in most of these languages for the pronouns, the numerals, and the most simple of the prepositions.'—*K. N. C.*

'It is now incontrovertibly established that most of the inhabitants of Europe, and a great number of the most ancient and civilized tribes of Asia, speak, with greater or smaller modifications, the same language, and the time may perhaps come when it will appear as probable philologically as it is certain historically, that every language in the world has sprung from one original speech. . . . This great class of languages, extending from India to the British Isles, has been called the Sanscrit, Indo-Germanic, or Indo-European family. . . .

'The most widely-extended idiom of the Indo-Germanic family is the Slavonian. . . . What is of most importance with regard to the Pelasgian languages, it appears that the old inhabitants of Italy were also Pelasgians, and there is certainly no radical difference between Latin and Greek. We are led to the conclusion that these Pelasgians were simply an old or Low Iranian tribe, who formed the basis of the population in Italy and Greece. If it were necessary to fix upon some particular branch of the Low Iranian, we should be inclined to select the Slavonian. . . . It appears that the common or Pelasgian element of Greek and Latin was allied to the Slavonian or Low Iranian branch of the Indo-Germanic family.'—*Don. N. C.*

### **The Literature of Greece.**

'The literature of Greece,' Colonel Mure remarks, 'classes itself almost spontaneously under six heads of periods, offering to the historian an equally apt arrangement of his subject.

'*The first, or mythical period*, comprises the origin and early culture of the nation and its language, with the legendary notices of those fabulous heroes and sages to whom popular belief ascribed the first advances in elegant art or science, but of whose existence or influence no authentic monuments have been preserved.

'*The second, or poetical period*, extends from the epoch of the earliest authenticated productions of Greek poetical genius, through those ages in which poetry continued to be the only cultivated branch of composition, and terminates about the 54th Olympiad (B.C. 560)

'*The third, or Attic period*, commences with the rise of the Attic drama and of prose literature, and closes with the establishment of the Macedonian ascendancy, and the consequent extinction of republican freedom of Greece.

'*The fourth, or Alexandrian period*, may be dated from the foundation of Alexandria and ends with the fall of the Græco-Egyptian empire.

'*The fifth, or Roman period*, succeeds, and extends to the foundation of Constantinople.

'*The sixth, or Byzantine period*, comprises the remaining ages of the decay and corruption of ancient civilization, until the final extinction of the classical Greek as a living language.'

The History of Greece may be divided into the following Periods :

**FIRST (MYTHICAL AND LEGENDARY) PERIOD;** from the Earliest times to the Migration of the Dorians, or Return of the Heraclidæ, B.C. 1104.

**SECOND PERIOD (NOT STRICTLY HISTORICAL);** from the Migration of the Dorians till the 1st Olympiad, B.C. 776, when the authentic history of Greece commences.

**Periods of the authentic history of Greece, 6 in number.**

'The (real) history of Greece falls most naturally into six compartments, of which the first may be looked at as a period of preparation for the five following, which exhaust the free life of collective Hellas.

- I. Period from 776 B.C. to 560 B.C., the accession of Peisistratus at Athens and of Cræsus in Lydia.
- II. From the accession of Peisistratus and Cræsus to the repulse of Xerxes from Greece, B.C. 560—B.C. 479.
- III. From the repulse of Xerxes to the close of the Peloponnesian war and overthrow of Athens, B.C. 479—B.C. 404.
- IV. From the close of the Peloponnesian war to the battle of Leuktra, B.C. 404—B.C. 371.
- V. From the battle of Leuktra to that of Chæroneia, B.C. 371—B.C. 338.
- VI. From the battle of Chæroneia to the end of the generation of Alexander, B.C. 338—B.C. 300.

'The five periods from Peisistratus down to the death of Alexander and of his generation, present the acts of an historical drama capable of being recounted in perspicuous succession, and connected by a sensible thread of unity.

'After the generation of Alexander, the political action of Greece becomes cramped and degraded—no longer interesting to the reader, or operative on the destinies of the future world. We may indeed name one or two incidents, especially the revolutions of Agis and Kleomenes at Sparta, which are both instructive and affecting; but as a whole, the period between 300 B.C. and the absorption of Greece by the Romans is of no interest in itself, and is only so far of value as it helps us to understand the preceding centuries. The dignity and value of the Greeks from that time forward belong to them only as individual philosophers, preceptors, astronomers, and mathematicians, literary men and critics, medical practitioners, &c. In all these respective capacities, especially in the great schools of philosophical speculation, they still constitute the light of the Roman world; though, as communities, they have lost their own orbit, and have become satellites of more powerful neighbours.'—*Gr. Gr.*

**First (Mythical and Legendary) Period;** from the Earliest times to the Migration of the Dorians, or Return of the Heraclidæ, B.C. 1104.

'There is no more important element in the mind of Greece than the legends. They constituted the belief of the Greeks of the historical

period, concerning their own past. They formed also the Grecian religion; and the religion of an early people is the groundwork of its primitive system of thought on all subjects.'—*E. R.*

### MYTHS OF THE GODS AND HEROES.

*Myths of* Chaos, Uranus, Chronos, Zeus, the Titans, Poseidon, Dionysus, Apollo, Hermes, Ares, Aphrodite, Hephæstus, Athene, and Artemis.

### THE SOURCES OF GREEK WRITTEN LEGEND AND ITS CHARACTERISTICS.

'There are two main sources of Grecian written legend—viz., the Indo-Collegiate theogonies, relics of which are found in the writings of Orpheus and Hesiod: 2ndly, The Homeric poems. The first are doctrinal and direct, and by their dogmatic form stand out in bold contradistinction to the second, which are purely narrative and inventive, in which, if any doctrines appear, they are rather inferential than direct. In Hesiod, the earliest systematist of the Greek theogony, we find the mythical cosmogony ranged upon a highly artificial scale, though the detail is imperfectly carried out; some portions being highly elaborated by original system, others more crudely filled up by the poet's imagination. His mythological genesis opens with a graduated scale of gods, heroes, and men. With the first, faithful to his oriental model, he has grouped monstrous yet sentient agencies, possessed of might surpassing the powers of man, yet participating in many of man's physical and mental endowments: of such a nature are the Gorgona, the Harpies, the Dragon of the Hesperides, Echidna, the semi-nymph and serpent, the Sphynx, the Cyclops, and the Centaurs, whose primitive type we shall notice in its proper place.'—*Encyc. Metr.*

#### The Heroic Age.

*Myths of* Prometheus, Perseus, Iapetus, Deucalion, Heracles, Theseus, Minos, and of the Argonautic Expedition.

'We are content to abandon the Argonauts, which may have been but a sort of ideal impersonation of the first rude attempts at navigation beyond the more sunny surface of the Ægean, into the dark and perilous remoter seas.'—*E. R.*

*Myths of* the War of the Seven Chiefs against Thebes, and of the War of the Epigoni.

### THE EARLIEST INHABITANTS OF GREECE.

*The Pelasgi*, the oldest Greek tribe with which we are acquainted,—spread over the whole of Greece, as well as

the islands and coasts of Asia Minor,—probably of Asiatic origin.

'Tradition and etymology agree in tracing the Pelasgians, so called, to the western and northern coast of Asia Minor. There is, however, little or no reason to doubt that the bulk of the race to which these 'swarthy Asiatics' belonged, entered Europe in the first instance through the wide district of Thrace, which is always mentioned as the most ancient European settlement of this tribe. For although the legends about Pelops and Lydia make it probable that they subsequently crossed over the *Ægean*, making settlements as they sailed along in the islands of the Archipelago, and though the etymology of their name refers to some such migration from the sunny coasts of Asia, it is nearly certain that the main body entered both Greece and Italy from the north-east. The course of their wanderings seems to have been as follows. They passed into this continent from the western side of the Euxine, and spread themselves over Thrace, Macedonia, and Epirus; then, while some of them forced their way into Greece, others, again moving on to the north-west, eventually entered Italy near the mouth of the Po. At some time, however, during the period of their settlement in Thrace, and before they had penetrated to the south of Greece, or had wandered to Italy, they appear to have crossed the Hellespont, and peopled the western coast of Asia Minor, where they founded the city of Troy, and established the kingdom of Lydia—names to which the Pelasgians in Italy and Argos looked back with mysterious reverence. There seems to be good reason for believing that the Pelasgians acquired their distinctive character—that of agriculturists and architects—in the fertile plains of Asia Minor, and under that climate which was afterwards so prolific in works of art and genius.'—*Don. N. C.*

#### ANTE-HELLENIC PERIOD.

'If any man is inclined to call the unknown ante-Hellenic period of Greece by the name of Pelasgic, it is open to him to do so; but this is a name carrying with it no assured predicates, noway enlarging our insight into real history, nor enabling us to explain—what would be the real historical problem—how or from whom the Hellenes acquired that stock of dispositions, aptitudes, arts, &c., with which they begin their career. Whoever has examined the many conflicting systems respecting the Pelasgi—from the literal belief of Clavier, Larcher, and Raoul Rochette (which appears, to me at least, the most consistent way of proceeding), to the interpretative and half-incredulous processes applied by abler men, such as Niebuhr, or O. Müller, or Dr. Thirlwall—will not be displeased with my resolution to decline so insoluble a problem. No attested facts are now present to us—none were present to Herodotus and Thucydides, even in their age—on which to build trustworthy affirmations respecting the ante-Hellenic Pelasgians: and where such is the case, we may without impropriety apply the remark of Herodotus respecting one of the theories which he had heard for explaining the inundation of the Nile by a supposed connexion with the ocean—that 'the man who carries up his story into the invisible world, passes out of the range of criticism.'—*Gr. Gr.*

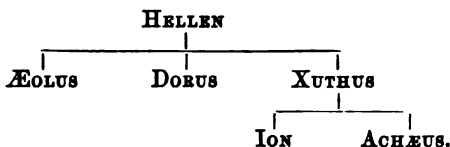
'It is in their buildings that the Pelasgi have left the most indisputable record of their name; their handwriting is yet upon their walls. A restless and various people—overrunning the whole of Greece, found northward in Dacia, Illyria, and the country of the Getæ, colonizing the coasts of Ionia, and long the master-race of the fairest lands of Italy—they have passed away amidst the revolutions of the elder earth, their ancestry and their descendants alike unknown; yet not indeed the last, if my conclusions are rightly drawn: if the primitive population of Greece—themselves Greek, founding the language, and kindred with the blood, of the later and more illustrious Hellenes—they still made the great bulk of the people in the various states, and through their most dazzling age. Enslaved in Laconia, but free in Athens, it was their posterity that fought the Medæ at Marathon and Platea—whom Miltiades led—for whom Solon legislated—for whom Plato thought—whom Demosthenes harangued. Not less in Italy than in Greece the parents of an imperishable tongue, and, in part, the progenitors of a glorious race, we may still find the dim track of their existence wherever the classic civilization flourished—the classic genius breathed. If in the Latin, if in the Grecian tongue are yet the indelible traces of the language of the Pelasgi, the literature of the ancient, almost of the modern world, is their true descendant.'—*B.*

### THE HELLENES.

'The first inhabitants of all these regions appear to have been a people called Pelasgians, of whose origin but little is known, though their tribes are believed to have settled extensively both in Europe and in Asia. The name Hellenes, which afterwards was adopted as the general denomination of those whom we, from the Latin, call Greeks, was originally that of a small people in the north of Thessaly, which grew early powerful, and became the origin of many leading Grecian states. Whether the original Hellenes were a Pelasgian tribe, or a tribe of a different though kindred stock, is a question admitting much discussion. The reader may find it ably treated in the *Roman History* of Niebuhr, who decidedly condemns the supposition that the Hellenes were Pelasgian. But of those comprised under the name of Hellenes, or Greeks, after it had become the distinguishing appellation of a great nation, at least half were Pelasgians by origin, and perhaps considerably more; nor can we affirm that Greece owed more of its manners, language, or civilization to the Hellenic than to the Pelasgian portion of its people. Afterwards the Grecian nation became divided into two races, the Ionian and the Æolian; and of the latter, a portion afterwards, under the name of the Dorians, attaining great power and importance, that name, as applied to them, superseded the Æolian; and this being still retained by the other branches of the same family, the great divisions of the Greeks were three—Ionians, Æolians, and Dorians.'—*W. R. E.*



**LEGEND OF HELLEN, SON OF DEUCALION, AND HIS DESCENDANTS:**



'Both metropolitans and colonists styled themselves Hellen, and were recognised as such by each other; all glorying in the name as the prominent symbol of fraternity—all describing non-Hellenic men or cities by a word which involved associations of repugnance. Our term *barbarian*, borrowed from this latter word, does not express the same idea; for the Greeks spoke thus indiscriminately of the extra-Hellenic world with all its inhabitants, whatever might be the gentleness of their character, and whatever might be their degree of civilization; the rulers and people of Egyptian Thebes, with their ancient and gigantic monuments, the wealthy Tyrians and Carthaginians, the phil-Hellene Arganthonius of Tartessus, and the well-disciplined patricians of Rome (to the indignation of old Cato), were all comprised in it. At first it seemed to have expressed more of repugnance than of contempt, and repugnance especially towards the sound of a foreign language; afterwards a feeling of their own superior intelligence (in part well justified) arose among the Greeks, and their term barbarian was used so as to imply a low state of the temper and intelligence; in which sense it was retained by the semi-Hellenized Romans, as the proper antithesis to their state of civilization.'—*Gr. Gr.*

FOREIGN IMMIGRATIONS, which at a very early period seem to have contributed to the population and civilization of Greece.

**LEGEND OF CECROPS**, who, as early as B.C. 1555, is said to have brought a colony from Egypt to Attica.

'Considering how Attica, from the peculiarities of its situation and soil, was exempt from the convulsions to which we have seen that the rest of Hellas was subject at the commencement of the historical period, we are led to expect that it would have a history of its own at a much earlier period, did not this very fact of its having been so very exempt and isolated augment extremely the difficulty of distinguishing what is really historical from mere local legends and religious types.

'Independently of Plato's assertion that Athens surpassed Egypt in antiquity, the existence of many other cities of the same name indicates an originally extensive establishment of that branch of the Pelasgic race whose deity was called Athene, and hero-founder Cecrops; and in Attica itself, the various names of its people and territory mark the

occurrence of changes to which the traditions respecting various kings have no more relation than they have to its original division into twelve independent communities, which, though most certainly anterior to the historical period, was never at any time doubted or disputed. The idea of foreign conquest is excluded by the reputation enjoyed exclusively by the inhabitants of Attica and Arcadia, of being *αὐτόχθονες*—a reputation to which their right was confirmed by the testimony of antiquity, so far at least as it implied the legitimate right of the inhabitants to their territory, assigning for its commencement a date by far anterior to all record. The colony which, according to the common opinion of later times, Attica received from Sais in Egypt, was never acknowledged by the Athenians themselves; Cecrops and Erechtheus, the representatives of their earliest existence, who were connected with that colony, are at a still earlier period Autochthones and children of the Earth.—*H. P. A.*

‘In this state of hopeless barbarism was Greece when visited by those Egyptian and Phœnician colonies which gave it the first rudiments of civilization. The Egyptian Cecrops, coming to Attica, found the rude natives without union or regular government, infested on their northern border by the Bœotians, their only neighbours, and from the sea by the Carians, a piratical people widely established in the islands of the Ægean and on the south-western coast of Asia Minor, whose object, probably, was the procuring of slaves, since the poverty of Attica could offer no other temptation to the plunderer. Having occupied the rock which afterwards became the Acropolis, or citadel of Athens, Cecrops prevailed on the inhabitants of the country to submit to him as their chief. He divided the province into twelve districts, and established a principal town in each, where the affairs of the district were to be transacted; instituted marriage, and appointed laws for the administration of justice; and arranged a system of united defence against the Bœotians. The stronghold in which he had fixed his residence was peculiarly consecrated to the Egyptian god-less Neith, whose name was changed by the Greeks into Athene, and who was worshipped by the Romans under that of Minerva. Around this rock arose a city, first named, from its founder, Cecropia, but afterwards Athena, from the goddess; or, as we have corrupted it, Athens.’—*M.*

*LEGEND OF CADMUS*, who is said, about B.C. 1550, (according to others, later, about 1313,) to have brought a colony from Phœnicia to Bœotia, built the Cadmea in Thebes, introduced the Phœnician alphabet, &c.

‘About thirty years after the foundation of Athens, some extensive troubles took place in Palestine, which caused the emigration of numerous bodies of Phœnicians. Newton’s conjecture seems highly probable, that this took place in consequence of the taking of Sidon by the Philistines, united with the Edomites, who were expelled from their homes by the conquests of David. The fugitives settled in Phrygia, in the islands of Rhodes, Crete, and Eubœa, and in several parts of Greece, under various names, as Curetes, Corybantes, Idæi Dactyli, and others; they brought with them letters, music, the art of working in metals, and

a more accurate method of computing time than had hitherto been adopted; and they first taught those mystical ceremonies which formed a very remarkable part of the religion of Greece. A division of them, under the name of Cadmeians, occupied Boeotia, and either driving out the natives, or uniting with them, founded there the celebrated city of Thebes. Cadmus, the leader of this colony, has the fame of introducing letters into Greece; but the merit of this, and all the improvements which took place at the same period, belongs to him only in common with the other chiefs of the Curetes.—*Gr. Gr.*

*LEGEND OF DANAUS*, who is said, B.C. 1500, to have brought a colony from Egypt to Argos.

*LEGEND OF PELOPS*, who is said, B.C. 1283, to have brought a colony from Phrygia to the Peloponnesus, to which he gave his name.

‘Pelops is the eponym or name-giver of the Peloponnesus: to find an eponym for every conspicuous local name was the invariable turn of Grecian retrospective fancy. The name Pelopónesus is not to be found either in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, nor any other denomination which can be attached distinctly and specially to the entire peninsula; but we meet with the name in one of the most ancient post-Homeric poems of which any fragments have been preserved—the Cyprian Verses.’—*Gr. Gr.*

About this time, possibly, Minos, the Cretan legislator, flourished; and Linus, Musæus, and Orpheus, are supposed to have lived.—*T.*

*LEGEND OF THESEUS*, possibly, in some degree, an historical personage; supposed to have been the tenth King of Attica, B.C. 1230 (P)

‘About this time, on the death of Ægeus, Theseus succeeded unopposed; and possessing a degree of influence which enabled him to effect a great political change, he went through the several towns, and persuaded the inhabitants to give up their separate councils and magistracies, and submit to a common jurisdiction. Every man was to retain his dwelling and his property as before, but justice was to be administered, and all public affairs transacted, at Athens. The mass of the people came into his measures; and to subdue the reluctance of the powerful, who were loth to resign the importance accruing from the local magistracies, he gave up much of his own authority, reserving only the command of the army, and the care of watching over the execution of the laws. Opposition was silenced by his liberality, together with the fear of his power, ability, and courage; and the union of Attica was effected by him and made lasting. To bind it closer, without disturbing the religious observances of the several towns, he instituted a common festival in honour of Minerva, which was called the

feast of union, and the feast of all the Athenians (Panathenæa). To his wise measures Athens owes its early prosperity and civilization, its subsequent eminence in all the arts of peace and war, and its importance in history, so utterly disproportionate to the extent and value of its territory. The quiet and good order produced by the union in Attica are proved by the fact that the Athenians were the first in Greece who left off the habitual carrying of arms, and adopted a peaceful garb.'—*U. K. S.*

*LEGEND OF THE WAR AGAINST TROY,*  
(B.C. 1193—1183 ?)

'Thus everything was now ripe for some great national undertaking of all the combined Hellenic nations, and that object was attained in the war against Troy. The most important result of that expedition was the kindling of one common national spirit—a spirit which, in spite of dissensions and feuds, was never wholly extinguished, and which must almost necessarily have arisen from an expedition carried on in so distant a field, which lasted ten years, in which all were joined, and which was crowned with such signal success. From the time of the Trojan war downwards, the Hellenes always looked upon themselves as but one people.'—*Herm.*

πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν οὐδὲν φαίνεται· πρότερον κοινῇ ἐργασμένη ἡ Ἑλλάς.—*Thucyd.* I. 37.

'As the crusades were the fruit of the revolution in the social condition of the West, the Trojan war resulted from the same causes in Greece. It was necessary that a fondness for adventures in foreign lands should be awakened; expeditions by sea, like that of the Argonauts, be attended with success; and a union of the heroes, as in that and the march against Thebes, be first established; before such an undertaking could become practicable. But now it resulted so naturally from the whole condition of things, that, though its object might have been a different one, it must have taken place even without a Helen.

'The expedition against Troy, like the crusades, was a voluntary undertaking on the part of those who joined in it, and this circumstance had an influence on all the internal regulations. The leaders of the several bands were voluntary followers of the Atridae, and could therefore depart from the army at their own pleasure. Agamemnon was but the first among the first. It is more difficult to ascertain the relation between the leaders and their people; and he who should undertake to describe everything minutely, would be most sure of making mistakes. There were certainly control and obedience. The troops follow their leaders, and leave the battle with them. But much even of this seems to have been voluntary; and the spirit of the age allowed no such severe discipline as exists in modern armies. None but a Thersites could have received the treatment of Thersites.

'This undertaking, begun and successfully terminated by united exertions, kindled the national spirit of the Hellenes. On the fields of Asia, the tribes had for the first time been assembled, for the first time had saluted each other as brethren. They had fought and had conquered in company. Yet something of a higher character was still wanting to

preserve the flame which was just blazing up. The assistance of the Muse was needed, to commemorate in words those events of which the echo will never die away. By preserving the memory of them for ever, the most beautiful fruits which they bore were saved from perishing.—*H. H. R.*

Tale of the Expedition undertaken by Agamemnon, as generalissimo, Menelaus, Odysseus, Nestor, Diomedes, Idomeneus, the two Ajaxes, Achilles, &c. &c., with a fleet of 1186 ships, and 100,000 men. Siege of 10 years. [Read Thucyd. I. 9—12.]

‘The real Trojan war is that which was recounted by Homer and the old epic poets, and continued by all the lyric and tragic composers; for the latter, though they took great liberties with the particular incidents, and introduced to some extent a new moral tone, yet worked more or less faithfully on the Homeric scale; and even Euripides, who departed the most widely from the feelings of the old legend, never lowered down his matter to the analogy of contemporary life. They preserved its well-defined object, at once righteous and romantic—the recovery of the daughter of Zeus and sister of the Dioscuri—its mixed agencies, divine, heroic, and human—the colossal force and deeds of its chief actors—its vast magnitude and long duration, as well as the toils which the conquerors underwent, and the Nemesis which followed upon their success. And these were the circumstances which, set forth in the full blaze of epic and tragic poetry, bestowed upon the legend its powerful and imperishable influence over the Hellenic mind. The enterprise was one comprehending all the members of the Hellenic body, of which each individually might be proud, and in which, nevertheless, those feelings of jealous and narrow patriotism, so lamentably prevalent in many of the towns, were as much as possible excluded. It supplied them with a grand and inexhaustible object of common sympathy, common faith, and common admiration; and when occasions arose for bringing together a Pan-Hellenic force against the barbarians, the precedent of the Homeric expedition was one upon which the elevated minds of Greece could dwell, with the certainty of rousing a unanimous impulse, if not always of counterworking sinister by-motives, among their audience. . . . .

‘Though literally believed, reverentially cherished, and numbered among the gigantic phenomena of the past, by the Grecian public, the Trojan war is, in the eyes of modern inquiry, essentially a legend and nothing more. If we are asked whether it be not a legend embodying portions of historical matter, and raised upon a basis of truth,—whether there may not really have occurred at the foot of the hill of Ilium, a war purely human and political, without gods, without heroes, without Helen, without Amazons, without Ethiopians under the beautiful son of Eos, without the wooden horse, without the characteristic and expressive features of the old epical war,—like the mutilated trunk of Deiphobus in the under-world,—if we are asked whether there was not really some such historical Trojan war as this, our answer must be, that as the possibility of it cannot be denied, so neither can the reality of it

be affirmed. We possess nothing but the ancient epic itself, without any independent evidence: had it been an age of records, indeed, the Homeric epic, in its exquisite and unsuspecting simplicity, would probably never have come into existence. Whoever, therefore, ventures to dissect Homer, Arktinus, and Leschës, and to pick out certain portions as matter-of-fact, while he sets aside the rest as fiction, must do so in full reliance on his own powers of historical divination, without any means either of proving or verifying his conclusions.'—*Gr. Gr.*

Unsuccessful attempt of the Heraclidæ, under Hyllus, to obtain possession of the Peloponnesus, 1180 B.C. (according to others, 1203 B.C.)

**CONQUEST OF THE PELOPONNESUS BY THE DORIANS**, generally called **THE RETURN OF THE HERACLIDÆ**, B.C. 1104, (80 years after the Trojan War,) under Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus, grandsons of Hyllus.

This conquest is represented in the Myth as a re-establishment of the ancient hereditary claims of the Heraclidæ: thus much seems historically certain, that about the year B.C. 1100, the Dorians, under various leaders, after a great battle, settled in the Peloponnesus, and made themselves masters of the greater part of the peninsula; not all at once, but gradually, and after a long and severe struggle.—*P.*

#### *DIVISION OF THE CONQUEST.*

<b>Temenus</b> <b>receives</b> <b>Argolis.</b>	<b>Cresphontes,</b> <b>Messena.</b>	<b>Procles and</b> <b>Eurystheneſ,</b> <b>(the ſons of</b> <b>Ariſtodemus)</b> <b>Laconia.</b>	<b>The Ætolians,</b> <b>Ælia.</b>
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\* The great family, or rather clan, which claimed descent from the hero Hercules, being expelled from Peloponnesus by the Pelopidæ, found an asylum among the Dorians, an Hellenian people, inhabiting a mountain district between the chain of Æta on the one side, and Parnassus on the other. Here they found willing followers in their enterprise for the recovery of their former dominion in Peloponnesus: the Heraclidæ were to possess the thrones of their ancestors; but the Dorians were to have the free property of the lands which they hoped to conquer, and were not to hold them under the Heraclidæ. The invaders were also assisted by an Ætolian chief named Oxylus, and by his means they were enabled to cross over by sea from the northern to the southern side of the Corinthian Gulf, instead of forcing their way by land through

the isthmus. Their invasion was completely successful; all Peloponnesus, except Arcadia and Achaia, fell into their power; and three chiefs of the Heraclidæ took possession of the thrones of Sparta, Argos, and Messenia; while Elis was assigned to their associate, Oxylus. The land was divided in equal shares among the Dorians, with the exception probably of some portions attached to the different temples, and which, with the offices of priesthood, belonged to the Heraclidæ, as the descendants of the national gods and heroes of the country. Meanwhile, the old inhabitants were either reduced to migrate, or were treated as an inferior caste, holding such lands as they were permitted to cultivate, not as freeholders, but as tenants under Dorian lords. . . . . The Hellenian name derived its general predominance throughout Greece from the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus: the Dorians claiming descent from the eldest son of Hellen, and while they gloried in their extraction, asserting their peculiar title to the Hellenian name above all the other tribes which had assumed it.—A.

Attica loses the Megarid, and is supposed to have retained its independence only through the devotion and voluntary sacrifice of her last king, Codrus (1045 B.C.) Arcadia alone, in the Peloponnesus, remains unconquered. 'Of the Achæans, some were subdued, and others took possession of the north coast of the Peloponnesus, inhabited by the Ionians, who retired before the invaders, and took refuge in Attica, the islands, and Asia Minor.'—P.

'Whatever difficulty modern criticism may find in regard to the event called 'the return of the Herakleids,' no doubt is expressed about it even by the best historians of antiquity. Thucydides accepts it as a single and literal event, having its assignable date, and carrying at one blow the acquisition of Peloponnesus. The date of it he fixes as eighty years after the capture of Troy. Whether he was the original determiner of this epoch, or copied it from some previous author, we do not know: it must have been fixed according to some computation of generations, for there were no other means accessible—probably by means of the lineage of the Herakleids, which, as belonging to the kings of Sparta, constituted the most public and conspicuous thread of connexion between the Grecian real and mythical world, and measured the interval between the siege of Troy itself and the first recorded Olympiad.'—Gr. Gr.

The Great Movement of the Dorians, or Heraclidæ, was followed by *the establishment of numerous colonies on the west coast of Asia Minor, and the adjacent islands of the Egean, by the*—1, **ÆOLIC**, 2, **IONIC**, 3, **DORIC**, *Emigrations.*

'To complete the transition of Greece from its mythical to its historical condition, the secession of the races belonging to the former must follow upon the introduction of those belonging to the latter. This is accomplished by means of the Æolic and Ionic emigrations.

'The presiding chiefs of the Æolic emigration are the representatives of the heroic lineage of the Pelopids; those of the Ionic emigration belong to the Neleids; and even in what is called the Doric emigration to Thera, the (E)kist Theras is not a Dorian, but a Cadmean, the legitimate descendant of (Ed)ipus and Cadmus. The Æolic, Ionic, and Doric colonies were planted along the western coast of Asia Minor, from the coasts of the Propontis southward down to Lycia; the Æolic occupying the northern portion, together with the islands of Lesbos and Tenedos; the Doric occupying the southernmost, together with the neighbouring islands of Rhodes and Cos; and the Ionic being planted between them, comprehending Chios, Samos, and the Cyclades islands.'

—*Gr. Gr.*

Of these, the principal of THE TWELVE ÆOLIAN COLONIES were Smyrna (afterwards taken by the Ionians), Cyme, Mytilene, and Methymna.

Of THE TWELVE IONIAN STATES (whose common sanctuary was the Panionium at Mycale), the principal were, Ephesus, Miletus, and Phocæa.

Of THE SIX DORIAN, Halicarnassus and Cnidus, and the islands of Rhodes and Thera.

'The views of the nation could not but be enlarged by the Trojan war. It had become acquainted with the coasts of Asia, those lands so highly favoured by nature; and the recollection of them never died away. When the new internal storms followed, and almost all the tribes of the Hellenes were driven from their places of abode, it is not remarkable that the coasts of Asia should have attracted the emigrating parties. Since the downfall of Troy, no new dominion had been established there; no nation of the country was strong enough to prohibit the settlement of foreigners. Thus, in the course of not more than a century, the western coast of Asia Minor was occupied by a chain of Grecian cities, extending from the Hellespont to the boundary of Cilicia. Æolians, conducted by the descendants of the fallen house of the Atridae, established their residence in the vicinity of the ruins of Troy, on the coast of Mysia, in the most fruitful region known to those times, and on the opposite island of Lesbos; on the continent they built twelve cities, and on Lesbos, Mitylene, which now gives a name to the whole island. Smyrna, the only one which has preserved a part of its splendour, and Cyme, exceeded all the rest on the main-land. Æolis was bounded on the south by Ionia, a region so called from the twelve Ionian cities which were built by the Ionians, who had been expelled from their ancient country. They also occupied the neighbouring islands, Chios and Samos. If Æolis could boast of superior fertility,



the Ionian sky was celebrated by the Greeks as the mildest and most delightful. Of these cities, Miletus, Ephesus, and Phocæa became flourishing commercial towns, the mothers of many daughters, extending from the shores of the Black Sea and Lake Mæotis, to the coasts of Gaul and Iberia. Neither were the Dorians content with their conquest of the Peloponnesus; troops of them thronged to Asia; Cos, and the wealthy Rhodes, as well as the cities Halicarnassus and Cnidus, were peopled by them. In this manner, as the series of cities planted by the Grecians ascended the Macedonian and Thracian coast to Byzantium, the Ægean Sea was encircled with Grecian colonies, and its islands were covered with them. But the mother-country seems soon to have been filled again; and as the east offered no more room, the emigrants wandered to the west. At a somewhat later period, but with hardly less success, the coasts of Lower Italy, which soon took the name of Magna Græcia, and those of Sicily, were occupied by Dorians, Achæans, and Ionians. On the Gulf of Tarentum, not only the city of that name, but Croton and Sybaris, soon rose to a degree of population and wealth bordering on the fabulous; whilst the chain of towns extended, by way of Rhegium and Paestum, as far as Cumæ and Naples. These colonial towns were still more frequent on the coasts of Sicily, from Messina and the unrivalled Syracuse to the proud Agrigentum. And in the now desolate Barca, on the coast of Libya, Cyrene flourished, with the towns of which it was the metropolis, and proved that Greeks remained true to their origin, even in Africa.—H.

### The two great Tribes of Greece—the Dorians and the Ionians.

‘From the earliest times, these two tribes were distinguished from each other by striking characteristics, which were not removed by the cultivation which was becoming universal. On the Doric tribe, the character of severity is imprinted, which is observable in the full tones of its dialect, in its songs, its dances, the simplicity of its style of living, and in its constitutions. It was most strongly attached to ancient usage. From this its regulations for private and public life took their origin, which were fixed by the prescriptive rules of its lawgivers. It respected the superiority of family and age. The governments of the Doric cities were originally more or less the government of rich and noble families; and this is one cause of the greater solidity of their political institutions. Good counsel was drawn from the experience of age; wherever an old man appeared, the young rose from their seats. Religion among the Dorians was less a matter of luxury; but it was more an object of which they felt the need. What important transaction did they ever begin, without first consulting the oracle? All this is true from the earliest times. When once the reverence for ancient usage was overcome, the Dorians knew no bounds; and Tarentum exceeded all cities in luxury, just as Syracuse did in internal feuds. After this tribe had once emigrated to the Peloponnesus, not only the greater part of that peninsula, but also of the neighbouring main-land of Hellas, was occupied by it.

‘The Ionians were, on the contrary, more distinguished for vivacity

and a proneness to excitement. Ancient usage restrained them much less than it did the Dorians. They were easily induced to change, if pleasure could be gained by the change. They were bent on enjoyment, and seem to have been equally susceptible of refined gratifications of the mind and those of the senses. They lived amidst holidays; and nothing was pleasant to them without song and dance. Their soft dialect brings to mind the languages of the South Sea; but in both cases the remark is found to be true, that a soft language is by no means a proof of deficiency in warlike spirit. In the constitutions of their states, hereditary privileges were either rejected at once, or borne with only for a short time. The supreme authority rested with the people; and although it was limited by many institutions, the people still decided the character of the government. Anything could be expected of these states, rather than domestic tranquillity. Nothing was so great that they did not believe they could attain it; and for that very reason they often attained greatness.—*H.*

## THE ORACLES AT DODONA AND DELPHI, AND ELSEWHERE.

'Mount Parnassus, in the centre of Bœotia, fostered the devout pilgrimages of the inhabitants of all Greece. Here rose Delphi, overshadowed by the awful rock of Pytho, hard by the oracle of Apollo. Hither despots, cities, tribes, and nations dispatched, in countless abundance, their costly offerings, all placed under his especial protection; a treasury oftener plundered by the barbarians than defended by the guardian deity. Here the majestic Council of Amphictyon, with a solemnity corresponding to the scenery, held its sittings. Here, pouring down from the double rift of Parnassus, and fed by the perpetual snow of the mountain, was the translucent spring of Castalia, where the poets of Greece poured forth their strains in all the rivalry of hallowed song. The fountain still murmurs on, though the voices of the pilgrims, and minstrels of Apollo have long been mute. The Castalian spring is clear, and forms an excellent beverage; the fountain is ornamented with pendent ivy, and overshadowed by a large fig-tree: after a quick descent to the bottom of the valley, through a narrow and rocky glen, it joins the little river Pleistus. Of Delphi and its 3000 statues, not a vestige remains.'—*Encyc. Metr.*

**INSTITUTION OF THE AMPHICTYONIES**, or, unions of people living in the vicinity of a sanctuary, established for the purposes of mutual security, and of celebrating their festivals in common. They differed from the ordinary confederacies, in not being directed against any third power. The most celebrated was the Delphic Amphictyony, to which belonged the privilege of protecting the Delphic oracle.—*P.*

**The Four Great National Games of Greece**—the Olympic, the Pythian, the Nemean, and the Isthmian.

'No other clime can furnish a likeness to these festivals. Born of a savage time, they retained the vigorous character of an age of heroes, but they took every adjunct from the arts and the graces of civilization. To the sacred ground flocked all the power, and the rank, and the wealth, and the intellect of Greece. To that gorgeous spectacle came men inspired by a nobler ambition than that of the arena. Here the poet and the musician could summon an audience to their art. If to them it was not a field for emulation, it was at least a theatre of display.

'The uses of these games were threefold—1st. The uniting all Greeks by one sentiment of national pride, and the memory of a common race; 2ndly. The inculcation of hardy discipline of physical education throughout the state, by teaching that the body had its honours as well as the intellect—a theory conducive to health in peace—and in those ages when men fought hand to hand, and individual strength and skill were the nerves of the army, to success in war; but, 3rdly, and principally, its uses were in sustaining and feeding, as a passion, as a motive, as an irresistible incentive, the desire of glory. That desire spread through all classes; it animated all tribes; it taught that true rewards are not in gold and gems, but in men's opinions. The ambition of the Altis established fame as a common principle of action. What chivalry did for the few, the Olympic contests effected for the many—they made a knighthood of a people.'—*B.*

*Homer, probably between B.C. 962—927.—F. C.*

'The whole of antiquity unanimously viewed the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as the productions of a certain individual, called Homer. No doubt of this fact ever entered the mind of any of the ancients; and even a large number of other poems were attributed to the same author. This opinion continued unshaken down to the year 1795, when F. A. Wolf wrote his famous *Prolegomena*, in which he endeavoured to show that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were not two complete poems, but small, separate, independent epic songs, celebrating single exploits of the heroes, and that these lays were for the first time written down and united, as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, by Peisistratus, the tyrant of Athens. This opinion, startling and paradoxical as it seemed, was not entirely new. Casaubon had already doubted the common opinion regarding Homer, and the great Bentley had said expressly, 'that Homer wrote a sequel of songs and rhapsodies. These loose songs were not collected together in the form of an epic poem till about 500 years after.'—*Letter by Phileleutherus Lipsiensis, § 7.—W. I.*

'There is no instance of the agency of mind in moulding a nation to uniformity of worship parallel to that produced by the great epic poet of Greece. At his awakening touch, the world of gods and of heroes sprang into a vitality so perfect and so noble, as to command the faith and homage of myriads. But the true secret of the godlike sway of Homer lay in those sympathies which he implanted in the bosom of frail humanity, and then touched with life. The love of country, the love of kindred, the love of glory—these were the influences that made his countrymen willing and devout believers in the mythology he had imagined; whilst the dignity with which he clothed his creations gave

to them the charm of reality, and stamped them an everlasting model of intellectuality. But it is not sufficient to consider Homer merely as the moral benefactor of his species. To say that the great poet gave to his countrymen a religious system, and to the world a heritage of glorious imaginations, would be to mete out but scanty praise. No poetry of equal extent is marked with less ideality than his—none so strongly with breathing life, and actual, recognisable personality; abstract sentimentalisms are rare,—the scene is full of animated forms, instinct with passion. They seem, even to us, to be less pictures than substantial existences. How admirable the models which they presented to the statuary! and what a noble material did Heilas dedicate to eternise the grandeur of the poet's conception!

Hard by, on one side of Athens, lay the marble quarries of the lucid Pentelie and the veined Carystian; and on the other side, the snow-white Megarean. And now, pregnant with the majesty of Homer, Attica, the mighty mother of civilization, gave from her marble womb a second birth of heroes, stamped with the grandeur of their glorious parent. Thus did Homer in after ages invest with an imperishable reality those awful gods of his country, who took cognizance of broken vows; and through the sublime ministration of Pericles made them ever present to the eye of guilt. But if the creative intellect of the Homeric sculptor filled with substantial life the noble forms bequeathed to him by the great poet, his most subtle energies were to be tasked in embodying conceptions opposed to nature—the Sphinx, the Centaur, the Satyr, were demanded by the national faith, and the struggling laws of anatomy were to be vanquished. The effort was great, but it was successful; and eighteen centuries have passed in admiration of the achievement. But there is yet another peculiarity in the Homeric system, that distinguishes it from the corporate religious crafts of Egypt and of India;—that system cast its hallowed spell over country and over home, making a sanctuary of each hearth, and each father the high priest of his domestic temple. How dear to the men of Marathon must have been a country such as this! Nor was this all; by linking humanity with the deity from whom the heroic nature derived its being, the poet held out to the warrior the most exalted reward. He might now aspire to emulate the mighty achievements of those heroes from whom his faith taught him that he had sprung; whose deeds of high enterprise glowed before his vision in the war-scenes of Mæonides. It was this that exalted the dauntless spirit of Miltiades, and inspired with restless energy the lofty daring of Themistocles. The gods, from whom they had descended, were from Olympus gazing upon them in the battle-field, and how could they fail? Were they not those very deities who had been the tutelary guardians of their ancestors on the plains of Troy? It must be so; they doubted not the glorious record of the inspired bard of Ionia.—*Encyc. Metr.*

'The genius which the Iliad exhibits is no proof that it is not the production of a single mind in a barbarous age. Those who speak of poetry as a progressive art, and liken it to the improvements of social life, and things which depend for their excellence on experience, know little of its essence. It has no connexion with the progressions of time; it depends not on external circumstances; it follows not in the train of knowledge, nor improves as mathematical science is unfolded;—its

origin is in the human heart, and its objects are to be found in every part of the creation. Indeed, the age of Homer was far more favourable to its perfection than later times. Then the whole region of imagination lay unexplored; the themes of poetry were unexhausted, and must have appeared exhaustless. Then there were no models of great excellence which should discourage the poet from emulating the fame of his predecessors, or should tempt him to be satisfied with a dexterous imitation of their beauties. The very rudeness of the age afforded also the best opportunities for poetry. The minds of men were then alive to tales of superstition, and their belief in the prodigies related to them was unshaken. There were no critics to fear or to propitiate. Society, if in the inexperience, was also in the bloom and vigour, of its youth. Virtues and vices were gigantic: they had not been rendered puny or melted down by the progress of civilization and art. Desperate revenge, fierce and uncontrollable anger, inextinguishable hate, on the one hand, and heroic bravery, noble contempt of danger and death, and romantic friendship, on the other, were to be seen in their extremes of awful or of placid grandeur. Life was full of adventures. The feuds of rival chieftains afforded a perpetual succession of incident to all, as well as a stimulus to the deepest emotions of their partizans. Friendship was cemented by the participation of hardship and of peril, and proved stronger than fortune, lasting as existence. In the breathing times of battle, a wild and generous hospitality filled up the pause, and was rendered graceful by the aid of song. The poet then found in every region the materials of his art; passion was everywhere of the most tremendous or exalted kind; tradition occupied the place of history, and gave ample ground for his song, while it left him verge enough for the exercise of his invention. The plastic religion, which was beginning to afford, even to the common people, a feeling of the grace of form and the harmony of the universe, had its altars on every shore, with its solemn rites and mysteries, and 'trivial fond records.' Surely there needed not, to render this age poetical, the perfection of scholastic subtlety, the organic control of the police, or the commonplace comforts and luxuries of modern times. The poet had then all 'the world' of genius 'before him where to choose.' What education did he need?—what formal introduction to the Muses? His infancy might have been delighted with wondrous tales of heroes and demigods; his youth passed by the side of the ocean, amidst the scenery of Greece; and his manhood occupied in wandering from country to country, admiring all that was beautiful, revering all that was grand, and rejoicing in all that was romantic. What had he to do with books or with worldly knowledge? His school was the universe. The mountains, the streams, and the ocean, were his teachers. The wild traditions of his age afforded him the threads from which he was invited to weave a glorious composition, whose colours will be fresh so long as nature shall endure.

'What, in fact, has been the individual knowledge of many who, in after times, have obtained the highest degree of poetical renown? We have no hesitation in believing the ploughman of Scotland—he who 'walked in glory and in joy, following his plough upon the mountain side'—breathed forth the tenderest and the noblest feelings of poetry without the aid of external culture. We hesitate not to think that a youth of sixteen at once fabricated an artful deception with wonderful

industry and skill, and informed it with beauties worthy of the best age of English genius. Why, then, should we think it incredible that Homer should shine as the birthstar of Grecian literature, in an age when the common incidents of life abounded with materials of song? . . . . .

'Besides the arguments which have been adduced against the hypothesis of Wolf and Heyne, it has another powerful adversary to encounter in the generous prejudice and fond admiration of mankind for one of their noblest idols. It is in vain the sceptics contend that the controversy shakes no faith that is of any consequence; or remind us that the intrinsic excellence of the poems would remain unaffected by a decision in favour of the cause they advocate. Men naturally look up for objects to admire. They delight to concentrate, rather than to divide, their emotions of respect and affection. The name of Homer has long been to them as a charm, which they will not willingly suffer to be broken. They have rejoiced in believing that a being so gifted actually belonged to their nature three thousand years ago, and had flesh and blood, passions and affections, like themselves. To divide, in this case, is to destroy. The object of undivided reverence would, in that division, pass away. That fame which had so long resisted time, change, and mortal accident, would crumble into ruins. An immense blank would be left in the imagination, an aching void in the heart. The greatest light, save one, shining from the depth to time, would be extinguished, and 'a glory pass away from the earth.' It is little, therefore, to be expected that the new hypothesis will soon become general among the mass of the admirers of Homer; and if they are under delusion, we are not unwilling to share it.'—*Hist. of Gr. Lit.*

**Hesiod**,—probably between B.C. 859—824.—*F. C.* His 'Theogony' containing probably the most ancient Greek Myths: his pastoral poem, 'The Works and Days.'

'In every country which lays claim to a native literature, we find, that as tradition passes onward from oral to written legend, there ensues a series of national text-books; these, in their turn, form the basis for more expansive and discrepant legends; which again, falling into the hands of dramatic writers, are subjected to another stage of mutation. Hence, in Greece, the Homeric songs formed this national text-book; whence, 1st, Hesiod; 2nd, the Cyclic Poets; 3rd, the Logographers; 4th, the Dramatists, largely drew materials, expanding, varying, and adapting the legends to harmonize with locality or existing ideas; whilst in others, as in Hesiod, they assumed a form more didactic and classified.'—*Ency. Metr.*

**CHANGE** (about the year B.C. 1000) OF THE CONSTITUTION OF MANY OF THE GREEK STATES from Monarchies into Aristocracies and City Republics (and sometimes into 'Tyrannies,' as they were called), connected by National Festivals and the Amphictyonic Council.

**LEGEND OF Codrus** (B.C. 1045), with whom the regal power at Athens is supposed to have ended, after lasting from the time of Cecrops; near 500 years.

'Tradition says, that as no one was thought worthy to succeed such a high-minded and patriotic king, the kingly dignity was abolished, and a responsible archon for life was appointed instead. 'In our accounts of this transaction there are points which justify the belief, that when, after the death of Codrus, quarrels rose among his sons about the succession, the Eupatrids availed themselves of the opportunity for stripping the chief magistrate of as much power as they could, and that they succeeded in altogether abolishing the kingly dignity, for which that of a responsible archon was instituted. Medon accordingly succeeded his father as archon, and his brothers emigrated to Asia Minor, where they founded several of the Ionian colonies.'—*S. D. B.*

**PERPETUAL ARCHONS AT ATHENS**, from B.C. 1045—752. These were taken from the family of Codrus; thirteen of them reigned: the first was Medon, and the last Alcmaeon.

'The name of king was changed to that of archon, but the royal functions and dignity seem to have remained undiminished, and to have been held for life. The period of office was first shortened to ten years, B.C. 752; in B.C. 714 the exclusive right of succession to it, enjoyed by the Medontides, was abolished, and access allowed to all the Eupatridæ; finally, B.C. 683, the duties of the office were divided among nine annual archons.'—*H. P. A.*

[Victory of Cæcæus at the Olympic Games, B.C. 776, and Commencement of the Chronological Era of the Olympiads.]

**DECENNIAL ARCHONS**, from B.C. 752—683. These were also taken from the family of Codrus. Seven reigned in succession.

**ANNUAL ARCHONS**, from B.C. 683.

'The first in rank retained the distinguished title of the archon; and was termed Eponymus, as giving his 'name to' the year. He represented the majesty of the state, and exercised that peculiar jurisdiction which had belonged to the king, as the common parent of his people, the protector of families, the guardian of orphans and heiresses, and of the general rights of inheritance. The second archon bore the title of Basileus, or 'king'—whom he represented as the high-priest of the people—regulating the celebration of the mysteries, and the most solemn festivals.

'The third archon bore the title of Polemarch, and filled the place of the king, as the leader of the people in war, and the guardian who watched over its security in time of peace; strangers who had settled

and freedmen, were also placed under his jurisdiction. The six archons bore the common title of *Thesmothetæ*—em- to determine the great variety of causes which did not fall cognizance of their colleagues; and the name of 'legislators' ably given them because, in the absence of a written code, to declare and interpret the laws may be properly said to make it.

During the above period, from B.C. 1045, the Government of Athens was in the hands of an oppressive aristocracy. The Archons and the members of the *Areopagus* selected only from noble families. Great oppression, discontent, and clamour for a written code of laws.

#### THE ATTEMPT AT LEGISLATION BY DRACO (one of the Archons), B.C. 621.

Draco appears only to have consisted in a criminal code, rendered famous by its severity.—H.

Laws said to have been 'written in blood.'

Draco's enactments, B.C. 621, made no change in the constitution, were that the substitution of definite penalties for the arbitrary sentence of the archons gave rise to the court of appeal *Areopagus*. The scanty and contradictory information we possess of the insurrection of Cylon shows the impossibility of ascertaining the manner in which the ruling clans (*γένη*) at that time exercised their privileges. That insurrection, however, was, without doubt, the consequence of the sanguinary severity of those enactments. It was then that the Eupatridæ, finding themselves unable any longer to resist the general clamour for a written code of laws, made their compliance an opportunity for sanctioning measures of the most atrocious description, in the hope of being still able to check the growth of democracy. The event, however, proved the reverse of what they designed; and though they succeeded in overpowering the insurrection raised, the perfidy with which they acted on the occasion sealed their fall. Laden with the curse of sacrilege, the Alcmeonidæ were obliged to comply with Solon's proposal that they should leave the city; and Epimenides, who was invited for the purpose of purifying the land, prepared the way for Solon's legislation by many wholesome enactments.—H. P. A.

The precise nature of the institutions of Draco, though they have become proverbial for their sanguinary character, is little known. He made an extravagant law for the prosecution even of inanimate objects which had caused the death of any one. Another law, attributed by Diogenes Laertius, was designed for the prevention of a habit which (as may be seen in the account of *Lycurgus*) was recently estimated at Sparta, where it formed a distinction between the free citizen and the slave. It has been said, that Draco increased the authority of the *Areopagus*, by instituting a tribunal



called the *Epheta*, but Plutarch considers the Areopagus as not established till the time of Solon. Aristotle, who highly esteemed the laws of Draco, has preserved an ancient censure of them, as less the work of a man than of a dragon, alluding to the name of the legislator. The orator Demades also declared that they were written with blood rather than with ink. Excessive severity appears upon the whole to have been their striking feature, and death was the punishment of almost every crime, from a trivial theft to the foulest murder; a severity which, indeed, entirely frustrated the legislator's design.'—*Enc. Metr.*

**Insurrection of Cylon, B.C. 620.** Suppressed by the Aristocratical Faction, but not without incurring the charge of sacrilege and pollution of blood, which was long used as a pretext for commotion. Cylon and his adherents treacherously put to death.

*Anarchy at Athens from the Political Factions of the Pedieai, the Dracrii, and the Parhali*, from which it was delivered by Solon.

### SPARTAN HISTORY.

Supposed commencement of the joint reigns of Eurysthenes and Procles at Sparta, B.C. 1100. Period of internal dissensions at Sparta, caused by the unequal distribution of property.

**Legislation of Lycurgus**, probably B.C. 817. (According to some, B.C. 884.)

'Although of the personality of Lycurgus scarcely anything can be said to be known, Mr. Grote entertains no doubt that such a person existed, and that the peculiar Spartan institutions were the work of a single legislator. Indeed, extraordinary as it may seem, that one man, or even a combination of men, should have had power not merely to introduce, for that is little, but to give enduring vitality to so singular a system of manners and institutions, the system itself is so intensely artificial, that any more commonplace origin would be still more improbable; it bespeaks in every part systematic design.'—*E. R.*

'The government a mixed monarchy: two kings; a senate of sixty aged men; five Ephori; iron money. The Spartans formed the aristocratic caste; the Laconians were the subject and tax-paying caste. The land divided among 39,000 families; but its cultivation confined to the helots, and forbidden the free citizens, as also handicraft,

trading, and manual employments in general. The land could not be sold, but might be bequeathed. Public tables; no theatres.'—*E. M.*

'The highest authority of the state was vested in the *γερουσία*, or council of twenty-eight elders. None could be a member of this till he had reached the age of sixty; the office was held for life. In this assembly the two kings of the race of the Heraclidæ presided; that, however, they had each a double vote was denounced as an erroneous opinion as early as the time of Thucydides. Their insignia were splendid, their political influence, compared with that of the senate, trifling. It was only when engaged in military service beyond the frontiers, that they possessed unlimited power; and the Ephori succeeded in limiting it even on these occasions. As to the Ephori themselves, who in the end so greatly diminished the power of the kings, they were, in the time of Lycurgus, mere police-magistrates, forming a court of justice, especially charged with the decision of ordinary civil causes, which was also their office in other Doric states: the *γερουσία* tried criminal causes; family disputes came before the kings; the public officers exercised powers both judicial and correctional in their respective departments.'—*H. P. A.*

#### Success of his Constitution.

'The citizens were converted into a sort of garrison, always under drill, and always ready to be called forth, either against helots at home, or against enemies abroad. . . . . When we contemplate the general insecurity of Grecian life in the ninth or eighth century before the Christian era, and especially the precarious condition of a small band of Dorian conquerors in Sparta and its districts, with subdued helots on their own lands, and Achæans unsubdued all around them. . . . . the exclusive aim which Lycurgus proposed to himself is easily understood; but what is truly surprising, is the violence of his means and the success of the result. He realized his project of creating in the 8000 or 9000 Spartan citizens unrivalled habits of obedience, hardihood, self-denial, and military aptitude; complete subjection on the part of each individual to the local public opinion, and preference of death to the abandonment of Spartan maxims; intense ambition on the part of every one to distinguish himself within the prescribed sphere of duties, with little ambition for anything else.'—*E. R.*

#### Formation of the Spartan Character by Lycurgus' Code of Laws.

'There is, indeed, no such instance of the wonderful pliability and amenability to artificial discipline of the human mind, as is afforded by the complete success of the Lacedæmonian legislator, for many generations, in making the whole body of Spartans citizens *at Sparta*; it must be said; for a Spartan out of Sparta, at least during his country's ascendancy, was not only the most domineering and arrogant, but in spite of, or rather by, a natural reaction from his ascetic training, the most rapacious and corrupt of all Greeks: no one fell so easy a victim to the temptations of luxury and splendour. Yet such habitual abnegation of ordinary personal interests, and merging of self in an idea

were not compatible with pettiness of mind. Most of the anecdotes and recorded sayings of individual Lacedæmonians breathe a certain magnanimity of spirit; although the Lacedæmonian state, which was the object of this worship, and was accustomed not to give but to receive sacrifices, was memorable for the peculiar pettiness of its political conduct—a selfishness so excessive, as by the blindness, and even the un-Spartan cowardice, which it engendered, perpetually to frustrate its own ends. Such were the Spartans; those hereditary Tories and Conservatives of Greece. . . .

'The revolutions which incessantly menaced every other Grecian state, and from which even Athens was not wholly secure, never threatened Sparta. The steadiness of the Spartan polity, and the constancy of Spartan maxims, were to the Greeks highly imposing phenomena. 'It was the only government in Greece which could trace an unbroken peaceable descent from a high antiquity, and from its real or supposed founder,' and this, we think with Mr. Grote, was one of the main causes 'of the astonishing ascendancy which the Spartans acquired over the Hellenic mind.'—*E. R.*

[Probable date of PHIDON, KING OF ARGOS, B.C. 783, who is supposed to have first coined silver at Ægina. . . . and of the CORINTHIAN OLIGARCHY OF THE BACCHIADÆ, B.C. 745.]

### SPARTAN HISTORY CONTINUED.

'If we view Greek aristocracy in the mirror of Sparta, we shall at once become sensible of the chasm which separates the small brotherhood of Dorian conquerors, encamped in the midst of outnumbering Laconians and suspected helots, from the social and military aristocracy of France, or the political and landed aristocracy of England. Nor can the Spartan virtues or the Spartan vices excite any other than a philosophic interest. The characteristic virtues of the citizens of Lycurgus were summed in those simple lines, which told that the slain of Thermopylæ had died in obedience to their country's laws. Their characteristic vices were the offspring of a military Utopia; the tyrannical discipline, black broth, iron money, and the compulsory equality of the public mess, produced their just results in Leonidas, Cleomenes, Pausanias, and Lysander.'—*E. F. T.*

**First Messenian War, B.C. 743–723.** Capture of Ithome; Exploits and Death of Aristodemus, the Messenian King; Messene becomes tributary to Sparta.

Institution, according to some, during this War, of the *Ephoralty*.

'Whether these magistrates named the Ephori were established by Lycurgus, or appointed under the sanction of the oracle more than a century after his time, is uncertain. Herodotus and Xenophon attri-

bute their appointment to Lycurgus, while Plutarch, after Aristotle, places their institution 130 years later, in the reign of Theopompus, of whom it is related, that when his wife upbraided him that he would leave the regal power to his children less than he received it, replied, 'Nay, but greater, because more lasting.' The Ephori were five in number, like the *Quinqueviri* at Carthage. They were annually chosen by the people, in their general assemblies, and designed to be a check on both the senate and the kings; thus possessing a power not unlike the tribunicial authority in Rome. In the exercise of this power they were obliged to be unanimous. It was among the duties of the Ephori, not only to preside in the assemblies of the people and collect their suffrages, but also to proclaim war and negotiate peace; to decide on the number of troops to be embodied, and to appoint the funds for their maintenance. They appear, indeed, at length to have engrossed nearly the whole power in the administration of the government; yet, according to Herodotus, the kings still possessed an authority and distinction scarcely consistent with such a power in the Ephori.—*Enc. Metr.*

**Second Messenian War, B.C. 679 (or 685) — 668.**  
Union with Messenia of Argos, Arcadia, and Elis; Exploits of the hero Aristomenes, and of Tyrtæus; Eleven years siege of Ira: Ira captured; Messenia divided among the conquerors; the inhabitants reduced to the condition of the helots, except those who emigrated to Sicily, and colonized Zancle, thence called Messana.

'Aristomenes is the great champion of his country in the three battles which are represented as taking place during this war; the first was with indecisive result at Deræ; the second, a signal victory on the part of the Messenians at the Boar's grave; the third, an equally signal defeat, in consequence of the treacherous flight of Aristokrates, king of the Arcadian Orchomenus, who, ostensibly embracing the alliance of the Messenians, had received bribes from Sparta. Thrice did Aristomenes sacrifice to Zeus Ithomates the sacrifice called Hekatomphonia, reserved for those who had slain with their own hands 100 of the enemy in battle. At the head of a chosen band he carried his incursions more than once into the heart of the Lacedæmonian territory, surprised Amyklæ and Pharis, and even penetrated by night into the unfortified precincts of Sparta itself, where he suspended his shield, as a token of defiance, in the temple of Athene Chalkieus. Thrice he was taken prisoner, but on two occasions marvellously escaped before he could be conveyed to Sparta; the third occasion was more fatal, and he was cast, by order of the Spartans, into the *Kæadas*, a deep rocky cavity in mount Taygetus, into which it was their habit to cast criminals. But even in this emergency the divine aid was not withheld from him. The fifty Messenians who shared his fate were all killed by the shock; but he alone was both supported by the gods, so as to reach the bottom unhurt, and enabled to find an unexpected means of escape; for when, abandoning all hope, he wrapped himself up in his cloak to die, he perceived a fox creeping about among the dead bodies; waiting until the animal

approached him, he grasped its tail, defending himself from its bites as well as he could by means of his cloak; and being thus enabled to find the aperture by which the fox had entered, enlarged it sufficiently for crawling out himself. To the surprise both of friends and enemies he again appeared alive and vigorous at Elira. That fortified mountain, on the banks of the river Nedon, and near the Ionian sea, had been occupied by the Messenians after the battle in which they had been betrayed by Aristokrates the Arcadian; it was there that they had concentrated their whole force, as in the former war at Ithome, abandoning the rest of the country.

'Under the conduct of Aristomenes, assisted by the prophet Theoklus, they maintained this strong position for eleven years. At length they were compelled to abandon it; but, as in the case of Ithome, the final determining circumstances are represented to have been, not any superiority of bravery or organization on the part of the Lacedæmonians, but treacherous betrayal and stratagem seconding the fatal decree of the gods. Unable to maintain Elira longer, Aristomenes, with his sons and a body of his countrymen, forced his way through the assailants and quitted the country—some of them retiring to Arcadia and Elia, and finally migrating to Rhegium. He himself passed the remainder of his days in Rhodes, where he dwelt along with his son-in-law, Damagetus, the ancestor of the noble Rhodian family called the Diagorids, celebrated for its numerous Olympic victories.'—*Gr. Gr.*

*Sparta takes the lead among the Dorian States.*

Wars with Tegea and Argos; the Lacedæmonians gain Thyrea and the island of Cythera.

Probable period of Zaleucus, the Locrian Lawgiver, B.C. 660; and somewhat later, about B.C. 600, The Seven Wise Men of Greece.

'The seven wise men, from whom the Greeks date the age in which politics began to be a science, were not speculative philosophers, but rulers, presidents, and counsellors of state—rulers, as Periander of Corinth and Pittacus of Mitylene; presidents, as Solon of Athens, Chilo of Sparta, Cleobulus of Lindos; counsellors, as Bias and Thales, of princes and cities. Of these, Solon is the only one with whom we are much acquainted; he is known as a lawgiver, and also as a soldier and poet. But it was not till after the wars with Persia, that the men appeared whom we call statesmen in the modern sense of the word. For it was then, for the first time, when a contest arose with a nation to all appearances infinitely superior in power, and the question of existence was at issue, and when good counsel was not less important than action, that a great political interest was excited, which employed the strongest minds.'—*H.*

## HISTORY OF ATHENS.

*Recovery of Salamis* from the Megarians, at the advice of Solon, B.C. 595, and commencement of the *First Sacred War* against Crisa, which lasts Ten Years, when Crisa is taken by the Amphictyons.

[Period of Sappho, Alcæus, and Stesichorus, about B.C. 610.]

Factions in Attica of the Eupatridæ (οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου), oligarchists; of the Mountaineers (οἱ ὑπεράκριοι), democrats; and the Parali (οἱ παράλοι), desirous of a mixed form of government. Solon chosen Archon Eponymus, to reconcile the factions.

## LEGISLATION OF SOLON, B.C. 594.

‘Solon, a man to whom not only Athens but the whole human race are deeply indebted.’—*H.*

‘The main feature of his legislation was to abolish the oppressive aristocracy, without, however, introducing a pure democracy.’—*H. R.*

His Laws were mainly,—

- |                 |   |   |
|-----------------|---|---|
| 1. Provisional, | { | a. Abolition of the statutes of Draco, except those against Murder. |
|                 |   | b. Law for the relief of Debtors.                                   |
| 2. Fundamental, | { | a. In reference to the Constitution of the State.                   |
|                 |   | b. In reference to private life and private rights.                 |

‘Solon might, had he so chosen, have made himself tyrant by heading this populace; but he preferred acting as mediator, and with this view caused himself to be elected archon, B.C. 594, as being an Eupatrid of the house (γένος) of Codrus. His first steps were the famous *σεισάχθεια*, or abolition of interest, which relieved the poorer classes from part of their oppressive debts, without encroaching too far on the legal and existing rights of others; and a lowering of the standard of the currency, thereby increasing the value of hard coin in hand, without altering the amount of existing bonds and notes. A total abolition is not to be thought of; but it seems certain that he annulled all mortgages, and fully reinstated every landowner in his property. He also abolished servitude for debt, at the same time liberating all who had fallen victims to the system; and in particular, passed an act of amnesty to

favour of all those who, without being actually criminal, had suffered from the harshness of the penal code which had lately been in force.

• 'After these preparatory measures, Solon proceeded to a temperate execution of Draco's design of setting bounds to the caprice of judges by written enactments; but instead of confining himself, as that statesman had done, to the framing a number of unconnected and inadequate statutes, he drew up a comprehensive code of laws bearing upon all the relations of public and private life, and which, without losing sight of the fundamentals of discipline and morals, burst the bands which had up to that moment kept the greater part of the Athenian people in a state of pupillage, political and legal.'—*H. P. A.*

• Solon's immediate attention was now directed to a case of peculiar urgency, the condition of the poor under engagements which they had no means of discharging. To put an end to the severities inflicted by creditors, and which had been the frequent occasion of public disorder, he employed his authority, which was indeed that of a dictator, by publishing an ordinance, entitled *Seisachthia*, or the discharge. On the precise meaning of this term there are different opinions. It was probably designed to express a general remittance of debts of every description; so that no creditor in future should be permitted to take for security the body of his debtor. Yet some have supposed that the relief consisted not in cancelling the debt, but in reducing the interest, and raising the value of money; the *mina*, for instance, from the value of 78 to that of 100 drachmas. Yet the former explanation best agrees with Solon's verse, in which he boasts of having removed the marks from mortgaged houses; alluding to a custom of placing billets on those which were held under such engagements.'—*Enc. Metr.*

## MAIN FEATURES OF SOLON'S LEGISLATION.

1. Division of the people into four classes, according to property.

• A democratic character was given to the constitution of Solon by the substitution of property for birth, as a qualification for the higher offices of state.'—*P.*

• Solon next estimated the estates, intending to leave the great offices to the rich. Such as had a yearly income of five hundred measures of corn he placed in the first rank. The second consisted of those who could keep a horse, or whose lands produced three hundred measures. Those were in the third class who had but two hundred measures. The rest, who had no property, were not admitted into any office; they had only a right to vote in the general assembly. This right soon appeared to be highly important, for an appeal lay from the decisions of the magistrates to that assembly. Plutarch adds, that he is said to have expressed his laws with obscurity, on purpose to enlarge the influence of the popular tribunal. For, as disputants could not decide their differences by the letter of the law, they were obliged to resort to the whole body of citizens, who thus had all controversies brought before them.'—*Enc. Metr.*

2. Offices of State to be filled only by citizens of the first three classes.

3. The nine Annual Archons continued at the head of the State.

4. The Council, or Senate (βουλή) of 400, chosen annually by lot, to debate upon all matters previously to their being submitted to the General Assembly (ἐκκλησία).

5. The Ecclesia (ἐκκλησία), or General Assembly of the People, consisting of all classes of citizens, who decided, after debate, on all matters proposed to it by the Council, respecting confirming laws, electing magistrates, decision of peace or war, &c.

6. Restoration and renovation of the Areopagus.

• For the lower Courts of Justice, 6000 men above 30 years of age (ἡλιαστοί) were annually selected by lot from the assembly of the people, and from them were chosen the Thesmothes (generally from 500 to 600) required for the trial of each cause.—*P.*

• The Heliea—courts, where 6000 citizens, totally unfit for the office, sat in judgment, receiving each 2 obols per diem. (See *Aristophanis Vespæ.*)—*A.*

• The senate and court of Areopagus were rather restored and regulated, than established by Solon. He particularly reinstated this court in those rights which, as we have remarked, had been taken from it by Draco, and bestowed on the Ephets. The number of the senators has been disputed, whether nine, thirty-one, or fifty-one. This court became proverbially venerable in the ancient world, while foreigners resorted to it for counsel, or referred their differences to its decision. Nor can the name ever lose its interest, while we recollect that the Apostle of the Gentiles there first taught Christianity, at Athens, with that commanding eloquence which the rhetorician and the artist have alike laboured to describe.—*Enc. Metr.*

7. Other laws respecting the personal and domestic condition of the citizens, sacrifices, public amusements, marriage, education of children, slaves, &c.

• The persons excluded from civil rights were—1. The μέτοικοι [resident-aliens], for the most part foreigners, who were permitted by the state to exercise their trades to Athens, in consideration of a fixed payment, and an undertaking to bear their share of all the public burdens (even military service). In all legal proceedings they were represented by a citizen, as their advocate or patron (προστάτης). 2. The slaves (purchased foreigners and their descendants), whose lives were protected by Solon's code, and a right of complaint ἀγῶνας.



their masters allowed, in cases of undue severity. Emancipated slaves were admitted to the same privileges as the *Metœci*, and were required to choose their former masters as patrons.'—*P.*

Solon leaves Attica for foreign travel: revival of the factions.

[About this period, or somewhat later, about B.C. 550, Pythagoras is thought by many to have flourished.]

### FACTIONS IN ATTICA UNDER LYCURGUS, MEGACLES (of the family of the Alcmaeonidæ), AND PEISISTRATUS.

**Peisistratus**, at the head of the party of the Commons, usurps the government of Athens, and makes himself **Despot, B.C. 560.** [The whole period of the power of Peisistratus and his sons from B.C. 560—B.C. 510.]

\* The time became ripe for the aspiring projects of the chief of the democracy.

\* The customary crowd was swarming in the market-place, when suddenly, in the midst of the assembly, appeared the chariot of Peisistratus. The mules were bleeding—Peisistratus himself was wounded. In this condition the demagogue harangued the people. He declared that he had just escaped from the enemies of himself and the popular party, who (under the auspices of the Alcmaeonidæ) had attacked him in a country excursion. He reminded the crowd of his services in war—his valour against the Megarians—his conquest of Nisæa. He implored their protection. Indignant and inflamed, the favouring audience shouted their sympathy with his wrongs. 'Son of Hippocrates,' said Solon, advancing to the spot, and with bitter wit, 'you are but a bad imitator of Ulysses. He wounded himself to delude his enemies—you, to deceive your countrymen.' The sagacity of the reproach was unheeded by the crowd. A special assembly of the people was convened, and a partisan of the demagogue moved, that a body-guard of fifty men, armed but with clubs, should be assigned to his protection. Despite the infirmities of his age, and the decrease of his popular authority, Solon had the energy to oppose the motion, and predict its results. The credulous love of the people swept away all precaution—the guard was granted. Its number did not long continue stationary; Peisistratus artfully increased the amount, till it swelled to the force required by his designs. He then seized the citadel—the antagonist faction of Megacles fled—and Peisistratus was master of Athens. Amidst the confusion and tumult of the city, Solon retained his native courage. He appeared in public—harangued the citizens—upbraided their blindness—invoked their courage. In his speeches he bade them remember that if it be the more easy task to prevent tyranny, it is the more glorious achievement to destroy it. In his verses he poured forth the indignant sentiment which a thousand later bards have bor-

rowed and enlarged :—' Blame not Heaven for your tyrants, blame yourselves.' The fears of some, the indifference of others, rendered his exhortations fruitless! The brave old man sorrowfully retreated to his house, hung up his weapons without his door, and consoled himself with the melancholy boast, that ' he had done all to save his country, and its laws.' This was his last public effort against the usurper. He disdained flight; and, when asked by his friends to what he trusted for safety from the wrath of the victor, replied, ' To old age,'—a sad reflection, that so great a man should find in infirmity that shelter which he claimed from glory.—*B.*

Peisistratus is twice expelled: at first by the united factions of Lycurgus and Megacles, and the second time by the Alcmaeonidæ. The third time of his exaltation he makes himself master of the city by force of arms, and holds the power till his death.

' Thus firmly seated on the throne, Pisistratus aimed at exhibiting the princely virtues of his station; and, maintaining due order amongst others, exhibited frequently, even in his own person, the most rigid observance of the laws. Hearing that he was to be accused in the court of the Areopagus, of murder, he appeared there without attendants, as a private person, ready to submit to the judgment of the people, and succeeded in convincing the court that the accusation was groundless. His love of the arts and of literature induced him to adorn the city with some elegant public buildings; he built and well furnished a library for public use; and it was Pisistratus who claims the honour of having digested the poems of Homer into the form under which they now appear. In other respects he proved himself a great patron of learning and the arts; he was the intimate friend of Crotomates, the epic poet, who wrote the adventures of the Argonauts; and there is good reason to suppose, that the celebrated fabulist, Æsop, was his friend and favourite. The famous temple of the Pythian Apollo was founded by this magnificent prince: he reduced to the Athenian control the city of Sigeum, and greatly improved the sacred island of Delos. In a word, he wanted only a lawful title to the sovereignty which he exercised, to have left his name to posterity as one of the most splendid examples of princely virtue. Over his not unfrequently admiring subjects, Pisistratus reigned in Athens from his first usurpation of authority, including his exile to the time of his death, thirty-three years; at the expiration of which, he died peaceably at Athens, leaving his sons, Hippas and Hipparchus, to succeed him in the government.—*E. Hist. of Gr.*

First exhibition, about this time, B.C. 535, of Tragedy by *Thespis*: period of *Pythagoras*, *Polycrates*, despot of Samos, and *Anacreon*.

Death of Peisistratus, B.C. 527.

' There is a prelude of obscurity during which the fate of Athens is

## 34      EXPULSION OF THE PEISISTRATIDÆ.

uncertain. So long as the race of Pisistratus still swayed the destinies of the Athenian people, so long it was still possible that Greece would have been without a head, without a heart, without a voice. But the moment that, on the expulsion of the last of that house, the true Athenian character had scope to develop itself; from that moment, all the rest of the Grecian commonwealths derive their importance and their glory from the parts which they play in the drama, of which the Athenian democracy is the chief actor.—*Q. R.*

### JOINT RULE OF HIS SONS, HIPPIAS AND HIPPARCHUS.

'The government was carried on in the same spirit by his eldest son Hippias (527-510), who allowed a considerable share in the administration to his brother Hipparchus. This prince, who was an enthusiastic admirer of poetry, was assassinated by Harmodius and Aristogeiton (from motives of private revenge, because the sister of Harmodius had been excluded by the Pisistratidæ from the Panathenian procession). After this event, the administration of Hippias became insufferably severe; and at length, after putting many persons to death, he was expelled by the Alcmaeonidæ, who had returned from Macedonia, and were assisted by the Spartans, the enemies of all tyranny, and by the disaffected Athenians. In the year 510, Hippias abandoned his country, and sought an asylum at the court of the Persian king, Darius I.—*H. H. R.*

[Plataea received under the protection of Athens, B.C. 519.]

Assassination of Hipparchus by Harmodius and Aristogeiton at the Panathenaic Festival. B.C. 514. *Sole rule of Hippias at Athens.*

### Expulsion of Hippias from Athens, B.C. 510.

'The Alcmaeonidæ, ejected by Pisistratus on his second restoration, were numerous and wealthy, and unceasingly watchful for an opportunity to return. The Temple of Delphi having been burnt, they had contracted to rebuild it, which they had done with a splendour far beyond their agreement. Hereby they both increased their reputation and secured an interest with the managers of the oracle, which they were suspected to have made yet firmer by bribery. However that might be, the responses given, on whatever subject, to the Lacedæmonians, always terminated with the command to liberate Athens, till at length, though bound by friendship and alliance to the Pisistratidæ, they were induced to succour their opponents. A small force being first sent into Attica, was defeated, and the leader slain. But the Alcmaeonid party was gaining strength; the severities of Hippias drove numbers to join it; and Cleomenes, the Spartan king, advancing with a larger army, was joined by the exiles. Hippias lost a battle, and was besieged at Athens. Here he might have held out beyond the patience of the Lacedæmonians, but for the fear of internal revolt, which induced both

him and his principal partisans to concert measures for removing their children to a place of safety. These were intercepted by the besiegers, and the fathers consented to surrender Athens and quit its territory in five days. They retired to Sigelium, on the Hellespont, B.C. 510, having held the ascendant in Athens for fifty years since Peisistratus occupied the citadel.—*M.*

**RETURN OF THE ALCMÆONIDÆ:** Cleisthenes, of this family, at the head of the Democratic party; Isagoras, supported by Sparta, at the head of the Aristocratical party. Fruitless interference of Sparta, backed by the Bœotians and Chalcidians, to re-establish Monarchy in Attica; War against Sparta, B.C. 510—507. Expulsion of Cleomenes from the Acropolis.

\* The lead was now disputed in Athens between Isagoras and Cleisthenes, son of Megacles, the head of the Alcmæonidæ. Finding the interest of his opponent superior among the rich and noble, Cleisthenes betook himself to cultivate the favour of the lower people; and by this having gained the ascendant, he made some changes in the constitution tending to render it more democratical. He opened public offices to all the citizens, and it was he who increased to ten the number of the wards, and enacted that fifty persons should be taken from each to serve in the council, which was henceforth frequently distinguished as the Council of Five Hundred, or simply the Five Hundred.—*U. K. S.*

*Changes introduced into Solon's Constitution, B.C. 507, by Cleisthenes.*

### **Athens a Democracy about B.C. 507.**

\* However great and permanent the services Solon rendered his native city as a legislator, his enactments, in consequence perhaps of the very spirit of moderation which pervaded them, did not, at first, serve even to maintain peace and union during his absence; and the usurpation of absolute power by Pisistratus, B.C. 560, supported by the Demos, proved fortunate at that juncture of affairs, inasmuch as it prevented a renewal of the contests with the oligarchical party. It is true that the term tyrant, in the full sense which it bore among the Greeks, may well be applied to Pisistratus, after he had regained, by force of arms, his twice-shattered throne, and secured it to his sons after him; but the laws and constitution were never better maintained than under their sway, and history abounds with proofs of their mildness and concern for the common weal. It was not till the incontinence of Hipparchus had occasioned the deed of Harmodius and Aristogelton, that Hippias excited by severity the hatred which brought on his ruin; although, strictly speaking, it was the Alcmæonidæ who expelled him, by means of Delphian gold and Spartan arms, B.C. 510. This success of the oligarchical party, and their consequent reinstatement in power, could not, however, ensure their superiority; the people were on the alert, and the dissension of their antagonists gave them a new leader in the person of Cleis-

thenes, whose decisive measures soon perfectly developed the democracy which Solon had left but half formed. It was in vain that the aristocracy, headed by Isagoras, had recourse again to Lacedæmon; Cleomenes, the Spartan king, did indeed, at first, succeed in expelling Cleisthenes, but on his proceeding to remodel the senate constituted by Solon, the populace rose, compelled him to withdraw, and leave the party of Isagoras to their vengeance.'—*H. P. A.*

The Ten Tribes, or Wards (Phylæ), instituted by Cleisthenes; introduction of Ostracism, and the constitution of the Senate of 500.

'The senate (*βουλή*), which from the time of Solon had consisted of 400 members (above thirty years of age), 100 for each Phyle, was increased to 500 when Cleisthenes divided the nation into ten Phylæ, and subsequently to 600, on the addition of two new Phylæ. The members were chosen annually, by lot (after a previous scrutiny), from the three first classes. The senate was not only required to investigate all questions previously to their discussion in the general assembly, but was also charged with the superintendence of all public functionaries, and the various branches of the administration, especially as regarded financial arrangements, such as the farming out the produce of the public lands, and the income arising from the mines, import duties, and personal taxes paid by the *μέτοικοι*, as well as those exacted from them for permission to exercise their trades. The collection of rents from individual farmers was also entrusted to the senate.'—*P.*

**Increasing vigour and spirit shown by ATHENS under her Republican form of Government. Up to about this period SPARTA had been the leading State of Greece; but ATHENS now continues to rise in importance, and is recognised as the head of the Ionian States.**

'The substance of Dr. Holland's admirable description of the general impression produced by that city, in its situation as well as in its destiny and development so truly 'the eye of Greece'—the yellow plain of light and barren soil which so long secured its civilization from the rude inroad of tribes in search of more fertile seats—the circle of mountains, whether on the Attic or the Argolic side of the bright Saronic gulf, embracing in their delicate and (what a recent traveller has quaintly but accurately called) 'aristocratic' outline the scene of simple beauty which so entranced the souls of the Athenian citizens—the majestic rock in the centre of that scene, the holy home of the guardian goddess, whose statue stood in colossal relief against the sky in front of her chosen temple—the dark shade of its northern precipice, long regarded as the polluted abode of the old accursed remnant of the Pelasgic race—the sacred caves, each with its peculiar legend, by which the whole rock is perforated—the venerable forest of olives, stretching like a dark stream from Parnes to the sea—the glory of the transparent atmosphere, in which every object of nature and art seems transfigured with a grace and life not its own.'—*E. R.*

By the events which followed the expulsion of Hippias, the government of Athens had become at length substantially popular. All its former revolutions were but changes in the ruling portion of the nobility: sometimes, indeed, the weaker party called the people to its aid; but the people, though it might determine the struggle, gained little by it beyond the hope of better masters. No lasting security for good government was obtained, and any immediate improvement of administration depended on the personal character of the new rulers, and the degree in which they yet needed popular support against their beaten opponents. Such might again have been the result, if Cleisthenes had enjoyed his first victory undisputed; but by the strength of his enemies, and the determination of Cleomenes to set up an oligarchy, with Isagoras for its chief, his cause was permanently identified both with that of democracy and of Athenian independence. The middle and lower people, hitherto powerless through inexperience, inertness, and disunion, had numbers that might have made them superior both in votes of the assembly and in trials of force: they wanted leaders whose personal influence could keep them united, whose political experience might direct their conduct, and who might be obliged, instead of using the people as instruments to serve a temporary purpose in raising a faction, to rest their hopes on their continued activity. Such leaders were the Alcmaeonidæ; and while they were bound to the commonalty by the strongest ties of common interest and danger, the other party of the nobles was broken and disgraced by its unsuccessful treason. Continually appealed to by their present leaders, the people became versed in public affairs, and were henceforth practically, as well as legally, supreme. The result was increasing vigour and spirit in the government, and a great improvement in internal quiet and security. Though jealous and violent in troublous times, and sometimes hurried into acts the most foolish and iniquitous,—though always defective as a means of discovering truth,—the popular courts were honest in intention, and did justice between the rich and the poor, with an impartiality elsewhere little known in Greece: and of the value of this distinction some notion may be formed from the atrocious cases, occurring in all the oligarchical republics, of oppression exercised with certain impunity by powerful individuals upon the weak. The faults of the Athenian government were many and great; but of its superiority to most in Greece, and of the willing acquiescence in it of all classes, there needs no stronger proof than this, that from the time of Cleisthenes till its constitution was nearly fallen into decay, no instance occurs of a contention by arms within its walls, excepting only those occasioned in the close of the Peloponnesian war, by the external dangers of the commonwealth, and after that war by its temporary subjection to Lacedæmon.—*M.*

*Causes which led to the First Persian War.* The Exiles of the Aristocratic faction at Naxos apply for aid to Aristagoras of Miletus. Naxos is besieged by the Persians under Megabates and Aristagoras. Dispute between Megabates and Aristagoras leads to the failure of the

siege, and the revolt of Aristagoras (instigated by Histiaëus) from the Persians. Hecataëus, the historian, takes part in the deliberations, B.C. 501.

Aristagoras solicits aid from Sparta (ineffectually) and from Athens. B.C. 500.

**Ionian Revolt.** The Athenians send twenty ships, under the command of Melanthius, and the Eretrians five, to aid the Ionians. These ships ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐγένοντο "Ελληνί τε καὶ βαρβάροις.—Herod., v. 97.

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The Ionian revolt lasts six years; ends by the defeat of the Ionians and their allies at the battle of Lade, and the taking of Miletus. B.C. 494.

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misad a long and yet more glorious existence—while even their great parent herself had scarcely emerged from the long pupillage of nations, they fell into the feebleness of age! Amidst the vital struggles, followed by the palsied and prostrate exhaustion, of her Ionian children, the majestic Athens suddenly arose from the obscurity of the past, to an empire that can never perish until Heroism shall cease to warm, Poetry to delight, and Wisdom to instruct, the future.'—*B.*

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'From a multitude of small states, never united, but continually distracted by civil broils—and such at the beginning of this period were the states of Greece—anything important could hardly be expected without the occurrence of some external event, which, by rallying the divided forces round one point, and directing them towards one object, should hinder them from mutually exhausting one another. It was the hostile attempts of Persia that first laid the foundation of the future splendour of Greece; certain states then grew so rapidly in power, that upon their particular history hinges the general history of all the rest.'—*H.*

Darius sends heralds throughout Greece to demand earth and water, in token of submission: all the islands, and most of the states on the mainland, submit: Athens and Sparta alone resist. War between Athens and Ægina, which takes part with Persia. Demaratus, King of Sparta, is deposed by the intrigues of his colleague, Cleomenes, and takes refuge, like Hippias, with Darius. B.C. 491.

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'So ended what may truly be called the birthday of Athenian greatness. It stood alone in their annals. Other glories were won in after-

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times, but none approached the glory of Marathon. It was not merely the ensuing generation that felt the effects of that wonderful deliverance. It was not merely Themistocles whom the marble trophy of Miltiades would not suffer to sleep. It was not merely Æschylus, who, when his end drew near, passed over all his later achievements in war and peace, at Salamis, and in the Dionysiac theatre, and recorded in his epitaph only the one deed of his early days—that he had repulsed the ‘long-haired Medes at Marathon.’ It was not merely the combatants in the battle who told of supernatural assistance in the shape of the hero Theseus, or of the mysterious peasant, wielding a gigantic ploughshare. Everywhere in the monuments and the customs of their country, and for centuries afterwards, all Athenian citizens were reminded of that great day, and of that alone. The frescoes of a painted portico—the only one of the kind in Athens—exhibited in lively colours the scene of the battle. The rock of the Acropolis was crowned on the eastern extremity by a temple of Wingless Victory, now supposed to have taken up her abode for ever in the city; and in its northern precipice, the cave, which up to this time had remained untenanted, was consecrated to Pan, in commemoration of the mysterious voice which rang through the Arcadian mountains to cheer the forlorn messenger on his empty-handed return from Sparta. The 192 Athenians who had fallen on the field enjoyed the privilege—unique in Athenian history—of burial on the scene of their death; the tumulus raised over their bodies by Aristides still remains to mark the spot; their names were invoked with hymns and sacrifices down to the latest times of Grecian freedom; and long after that freedom had been extinguished, even in the reign of Trajan and the Antonines, the anniversary of Marathon was still celebrated, and the battle-field was still believed to be haunted, night after night, by the snorting of unearthly chargers and the clash of invisible combatants.—*Q. R.*

‘The Athenians reaped another important advantage from their victory; for on the field of Marathon the life, the hopes, and the family of the Pisistratidæ were utterly extinguished. At Marathon, the exiled Hippias, the last of his family, the instigator of the invasion, fell; and with him fell the fears of the Athenian people. Athens was now regarded among the states of Greece as equal, if not superior, in patriotism and valour even to Sparta herself: and although we have no particular instances recorded of the behaviour of the Plataeans, yet the Athenians were so well satisfied with their brave allies, that a decree was immediately passed, making that people free of the city of Athens.’—*E. Hist. of Gr.*

### Athens Mistress of the Sea.

Failure of Miltiades to take Paros; he is fined, and being unable to pay the fine, is thrown into prison, where he dies of his wound.\* B.C. 489.

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\* ‘The tyrant of the Chersonese

Was freedom’s best and bravest friend:

That tyrant was Miltiades,’ &c. &c.

BYRON’S *Isles of Greece*.

‘ Thus perished Miltiades, the victor of Marathon, one of the first of those heroes who afterwards rendered Athens so famous on the pages of history. The love of power—a temptation scarcely resistible by human nature—was the principal failing of his character; but after he had attained that power, his native generosity of heart forbade him to use it with injustice or cruelty. During the time of his magistracy, he was moderate, humble, and universally beloved; nor in the days of his adversity did the slightest spot of malignity cloud his reputation.’—*E. Hist. of Gr.*

### THEMISTOCLES AND ARISTIDES THE LEADING MEN IN ATHENS; THE REAL FOUNDERS OF THE POWER OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

[Egypt revolts from Persia, B.C. 486.]

Fresh War between Athens and Ægina; appropriation, at the advice of Themistocles, of the income derived from the mines at Laurion to the formation of a fleet: 200 galleys in all raised by Athens.

Death of Darius, King of Persia, B.C. 485; immense preparations of Xerxes for the invasion of Greece. *ἑδονέρο πᾶσα ἡ Ἀσίη*. ‘ By his strength and his great riches he stirred up all against the realm of Grecia.’—*Dan. xi. 2.*

Ostracism\* of Aristides, B.C. 483. He is recalled from banishment three years afterwards.

‘ The fickleness of the Athenian democracy, ever profuse in its favours, ungrateful in its neglect, or tremendous in its anger, is in no instance more strongly illustrated than in the lives of the patriots Miltiades, Aristides, and Themistocles. Each of these exalted citizens possessed his own peculiar virtues, each of them was loaded with honours and rewards, and each of them, in his turn, felt the severity of those laws, and the tyranny of that power, which he himself had so largely contributed to support, if not to originate.’—*Enc. Metr.*

### Third Persian Invasion of Greece (by Xerxes), with a land force of 1,700,000 men, and 1207 ships:

‘ When all was in readiness, the mighty armament was set in motion. Early in the spring (B.C. 480), Xerxes began his march from Sardis, in all the pomp of a royal progress. The baggage led the way; it was followed by the first division of the armed crowd that had been brought together from the tributary nations: a motley throng, including many

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its demands: ordinary food was not often to be found, and it was compelled to draw a scanty and unwholesome nourishment from the herbage of the plains, the bark and leaves of the trees. Sickness soon began to spread its ravages among them, and Xerxes was compelled to consign numbers to the care of the cities that lay on his road, already impoverished by the cost of his first visit, in the hope that they would tend their guests, and would not sell them into slavery if they recovered. The passage of the Strymon is said to have been peculiarly disastrous. The river had been frozen in the night hard enough to bear those who arrived first. But the ice suddenly gave way under the heat of the morning sun, and numbers perished in the waters. In forty-five days after he had left Mardonius in Thessaly, he reached the Hellespont; the bridges had been broken up by foul weather, but the fleet was there to carry the army over to Abydos. Here it rested from its fatigues, and found plentiful quarters; but intemperate indulgence rendered the sudden change from scarcity to abundance almost as pernicious as the previous famine. The remnant that Xerxes brought back to Sardis was a wreck, a fragment, rather than a part of his huge host.—*T.*

and leaves Mardonius with 350,000 to winter in Thessaly.

‘The glory of frustrating the second mighty Persian invasion of Greece, under Xerxes I., belongs to Themistocles alone. Not only his great naval victory off Salamis, but still more the manner in which he contrived to work upon his countrymen, proves him to have been the greatest man of his age, and the deliverer of Greece, now united by one common bond of interest.’—*H.*

[Battle of Himera, in which Gelon, despot of Syracuse, defeats an immense army of Carthaginians under Hamilcar, on the same day as the battle of Salamis.]

In the spring of the next year Mardonius breaks up his camp, marches again through Bœotia into Attica, which is again abandoned by the inhabitants; the town of Athens is a second time burnt; Mardonius returns into Bœotia, and is utterly defeated at

**The Battle of Platææ, Sept. 25, B.C. 479**, by the united Greeks; the Athenians and their allies being under Aristides, and the Spartans under Pausanias (commander-in-chief).

‘The butchery at Cannæ has no recorded equal, except the slaughter of the Persians in the camp, when the Greeks forced it after the battle of Platææ.’—*A.*

‘The booty found here was immense—couches, magnificently embroidered; tables of gold and silver; bowls and goblets of gold; chains, bracelets, scimitars, some of solid gold, and others adorned with precious stones; innumerable horses and camels; and to crown all, many

cheats of Persian money, which began at that time, and continued long after, to be current in Greece. A tenth part of the spoil was set apart for the gods. And from this peculiar presents were offered to the temples of the national deities: a golden tripod, supported by a three-headed brazen serpent,\* to the Delphian Apollo; a colossal statue, ten cubits high, to the Olympian Jupiter, on the base of which were inscribed the names of those cities which had shared the glory of the contest; and a similar statue, seven cubits high, to the Isthmian Neptune. The Plataeans were allowed the sum of eighty talents, in order to build a magnificent temple to Minerva, adorned with paintings, which Plutarch saw six hundred years afterwards in a state of perfect freshness. A splendid present was selected for Pausanias; and the remaining spoil equally divided.—*C. H. of Gr.*

On the same day, the Persian fleet and land force (under Tigranes) are defeated at

**The Battle of Mycale**, by the Spartans under Leotychides (commander-in-chief), and the Athenians and their allies under Xanthippus.

These battles are followed by the liberation of Thrace and Macedon from the Persian power.

\* There never was any general union of the Greeks against the Persians; but the idea of such a confederation had been called up, and was, if not entirely, yet in a great measure, carried into effect. What is more arduous than, in times of great difficulty, when every one fears for himself, and is chiefly concerned for self-preservation, to preserve among a multitude of small states that public spirit and union in which all strength consists! The Athenians were left almost alone to repel the first invasion of Darius Hystaspes; but the glory won at Marathon was not sufficient to awaken general enthusiasm, when greater danger threatened from the invasion of Xerxes. All the Thessalians, the Locrians, and Boeotians, except the cities of Thebes and Plataea, sent earth and water to the Persian king at the first call to submit; although these tokens of subjection were attended by the curses of the rest of the Greeks, and the vow that a tithe of their estates should be devoted to the city of Delphi. Yet of the rest of the Greeks who did not favour Persia, some were willing to assist only on condition of being appointed to conduct and command the whole: others, if their country could be the first to be protected; others sent a squadron, which was ordered to wait till it was certain which side would gain the victory; and others pretended they were held back by the declarations of an oracle. So true is the remark of Herodotus, that however ill it might be taken by others, he was constrained to declare that Greece was indebted for its

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\* This most interesting relic stands still in the Hippodrome, or Atmeidan, at Constantinople; where I saw it in the beginning of the present year (1853). It is described in Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, iii. ch. 17.

## 46 REBUILDING OF ATHENS: THE PIRÆUS.

freedom to Athens. Athens, with Themistocles for its leader, gave life to the courage of the other states; induced them to lay aside their quarrels; yielded where it was duty to yield; and always relied on its own strength, while it seemed to expect safety from all.

'Hope was not disappointed in the result; the battle of Salamis gave a new impulse to the spirit of the Greek; and when in the following year the battle of Plataea gave a decision to the contest, the greater part of Hellas was assembled in the field of battle.

'We would give no description of those glorious days, but only of the consequences which they had for Greece. In the actions of men, greatness is seldom or never quite unmixed with meanness; and he who investigates the actions of those times with care, will find many and various proofs of it. And yet in the whole compass of history we can find no series of events which deserve to be compared with the grand spectacle then exhibited; and with all the exaggerations of the orators and poets, the feeling of pride with which the Greek reflected on his achievements was a just one. A small country had withstood the attack of half a continent; it had not only saved the most costly possessions which were endangered, its freedom, its independence; it felt itself strong enough to continue the contest, and did not lay aside its arms till it was permitted to prescribe the conditions of peace.'—E. B.

Athens rebuilt and fortified by Themistocles, in spite of the opposition of Sparta; formation of the harbour of the Piræus;

'The character of Themistocles was profound, yet tortuous in policy—vast in conception—subtle, patient, yet prompt in action; affable in manner, but boastful, ostentatious, and disdaining to conceal his consciousness of merit; not brilliant in accomplishment, yet master not more of the Greek wiles than the Attic wit; sufficiently eloquent, but greater in deeds than words, and penetrating by an almost preternatural insight at once the characters of men, and the sequences of events. Incomparably the greatest of his own times, and certainly not surpassed by those who came after him. Pisistratus, Cimon, Pericles, Aristides himself, were of noble and privileged birth. Themistocles was the first, and, except Demosthenes, the greatest, of those who rose from the ranks of the people, and he drew the people upward in his rise. His fame was the creation of his genius only. 'What other man' (to paraphrase the unusual eloquence of Diodorus) 'could in the same time have placed Greece at the head of nations, Athens at the head of Greece, himself at the head of Athens?—in the most illustrious age the most illustrious man. Conducting to war the citizens of a state in ruins, he defeated all the arms of Asia. He alone had the power to unite the most discordant materials, and to render danger itself salutary to his designs. Not more remarkable in war than peace—in the one he saved the liberties of Greece, in the other he created the eminence of Athens.'—B.

Sestos taken (with which event the history of Herodotus concludes); WAR BY SEA IS CARRIED ON

**AGAINST PERSIA** by the allied fleet, under the command of Pausanias, Aristides, and Cimon. B.C. 478.

**Commencement of the Athenian 'Hēgemonia (or Ascendancy), B.C. 477**, in consequence of the haughty conduct of Pausanias towards the allies; it lasts about 70 years, Athens continuing nearly supreme till the close of the Peloponnesian War.

'The first use which Athens made of this superior command was the establishment of a general treasury, as well as a common fleet, for the carrying on of the war; while it was fixed which of the allies should contribute money and ships, and in what proportion. The Athenians, says Thucydides, now first established the office of treasurers of Greece, who were to collect the tribute, as the sums which were raised were denominated (and names are not matters of indifference in politics), the amount of which was then fixed at four hundred and sixty talents. Yet, to avoid everything which could seem odious, the treasury was not directly fixed at Athens, but at Delos, in the temple of Apollo; where the assemblies also were held. But the most important circumstance was, that the most just of the Grecians, Aristides, was appointed treasurer, and the office of assigning to each state its proportion of the general contribution was entrusted to him. No one in those days made any complaint; and Aristides died as poor as he had lived.'—*M.*

Period of Simonides, Pheronichus, Pinbar, Bacchylides, Epicharmus, and Aeschylus.

Cimon, in command of the allied force, takes Eion and the island of Scyros. B.C. 476.

Ostracism of Themistocles, B.C. 469, by the aristocratic faction in Athens, principally through the intrigues of Sparta; he retires to Argos. Afterwards he fled to Corcyra, and after that to Admetus, king of the Molossi. Pausanias, convicted of treasonable negotiations with the Persians, flies for refuge to a temple, and is starved to death. B.C. 471.

Pericles begins to take share in public affairs, as leader of the democratic party in Athens; Cimon, son of Miltiades, leader of the aristocratic. B.C. 469.

**Secession from the Alliance, and consequent subjection of Naxos, B.C. 466.**

'When the sea was made secure, and no attack was further to be feared from the Persians,—how could it be otherwise, than that the



continuance of the war, and consequently the contributions made for that purpose, should be to many of them unnecessarily oppressive? And how could it be avoided, that some should feel themselves injured, or be actually injured in the contributions exacted of them. The consequences of all this were, on the one side, a refusal to pay the contributions, and on the other, severity in collecting them; and as they continued to be refused, this was considered as a revolt, and wars followed with several of the allies; at first with the island Naxos; then with Thasus, with Samos, and others. But those who had been overcome were no longer treated as allies, but as subjects; and thus the relation of Athens to the several states was different; for a distinction was made between the voluntary confederates and the subjects. The latter were obliged to pay in money an equivalent for the ships which they were bound to furnish; for Athens found it more advantageous to have its ships built in this manner, by itself. But the matter did not rest here. The sum of the yearly tribute, fixed under Pericles at four hundred and sixty talents, was raised by Alcibiades to six hundred. When, during the Peloponnesian war, Athens suffered from the want of money, the tribute was changed into duties of five per centum on the value of all imported articles, collected by the Athenians in the harbours of the allies.'—*H.*

**Brilliant Period of Athens for Forty Years,  
from B.C. 470—430.**

**GREAT BATTLE AT THE EURYMEDON** (in Pamphylia), and **VICTORY, BOTH BY LAND AND SEA, OF CIMON OVER THE PERSIANS, B.C. 466.** Themistocles takes refuge in Persia, and is kindly treated by Artaxerxes. Athens is embellished with public buildings by Cimon, with the booty taken from the Persians; and the long walls are constructed down to the Piræus.

'After the fall of Themistocles, Cimon was long the first man in Athens, by his abilities, integrity, and popular manners, and by the splendidly liberal use of his great wealth. He threw down the fences of his gardens and orchards near Athens, and permitted all to partake of their produce; spread a table daily for the poorer citizens, particularly those of his own ward; and was always ready to give or lend money to the indigent. His magnificence was also displayed in public works. He adorned the city with splendid porticoes, groves, and gardens, in which it was the delight of the Athenians to assemble and pass their time in conversation. Most of this was done at his private expense; but other important works were executed under his direction, from the riches which his victories had brought into the treasury. In particular, the defences of the Acropolis were completed in this manner.'—*M.*

Secession, and blockade and subjection, of Thasos by *Cimon*, B.C. 465—463; continued increase of the power of

*Athens*, and commencement, about this time, of the rivalry of the Aristocratic and Democratic States of Greece, under the lead of Sparta and of Athens.

‘About 560 B.C., two important changes are seen to come into operation, which alter the character of Grecian history—extricating it out of its former chaos of detail, and centralizing its isolated phenomena—  
1. The subjugation of the Asiatic Greeks by Lydia and by Persia, and their struggles for emancipation, in which the European Greeks became implicated, first as accessaries, and afterwards as principals. 2. The combined action of the large mass of Greeks under Sparta, as their most powerful state and acknowledged chief—followed by the rapid and extraordinary growth of Athens, the complete development of Grecian maritime power, and the struggles between Athens and Sparta for the headship. These two causes, though distinct in themselves, must nevertheless be regarded as working together to a certain degree:—or rather, the second grew out of the first. For it was the Persian invasions of Greece which first gave birth to a wide-spread alarm and antipathy among the leading Greeks (we must not call it Pan-Hellenic, since more than half of the Amphictyonic constituency gave earth and water to Xerxes) against the barbarians of the East, and impressed them with the necessity of joint active operations under a leader. The idea of a leadership, or hegemony, of collective Hellas, as a privilege necessarily vested in some one state for common security against the barbarians, thus became current—an idea foreign to the mind of Solon or any one of the same age. Next came the miraculous development of Athens, and the violent contest between her and Sparta which should be the leader; the larger portion of Hellas taking side with one or the other, and the common quarrel against the Persians being for the time put out of sight.’—Q. R.

**Third Messenian War**, or, Revolt of the Helots and Messenians, from B.C. 464–454. Cimon is sent with 4000 men to aid the Spartans; but his offers are declined, and the troops sent back.

Cimon is ostracized by the Democratic party, which is headed by his rival, Pericles. The power of the Areopagus diminished by Ephialtes. B.C. 461.

‘The withdrawal of various causes which formerly came under the jurisdiction of that tribunal must have diminished its right of moral censorship.’—H.

The power of Athens continues to increase.

‘With regard to external relations, the precedence of the Athenians gradually advanced towards supremacy; although their relations with all the confederates were not precisely the same. Some were mere confederates; others were subjects. Augmentation takes place in the

imposts on the confederates, and the treasury is transferred from Delos to Athens, B.C. 461. The jealousy of Sparta and the discontent of the confederates keep pace with the greatness of Athens.—*H.*

Unsuccessful attempts of the Athenians to support Inarus in Egypt against the Persians, B.C. 462—458.

Commencement of the Period often called the Age of Pericles (nearly 40 years), from B.C. 468—429.

‘As a statesman and a warrior the talents of Pericles have never been questioned: as a man of learning and a patron of the fine arts he was equally eminent. Swayed principally, perhaps, by private interest, he appears to have induced his country to begin a war fatal in its issue: but for the events which transpired after his death he cannot be thought responsible, and they only proved that the man who advised the measure was he alone who was capable of directing it. With the literature of the day he was eminently acquainted. As the friend and patron of Phidias, he won the title of Olympius, from his magnificence and splendour in the fine arts. But these great and shining qualities were sullied by prominent vices. Pericles was sensual and dissolute in his pleasures, vainglorious, envious, and devoid of integrity in his politics, and frequently mean and selfish in his domestic life.’—*Enc. Metr.\**

‘With the growth of the Athenian empire we naturally connect the administration of Pericles. On the character of this illustrious man generally we subscribe to the opinion of Mr. Grote. His greatness is unquestioned; his honesty cannot, we think, be reasonably questioned. The charge of having governed by a system of corruption, through the distribution of the public money in fees to the citizens, is fully, though indirectly, refuted by the emphatic eulogy of Thucydides. It is to be observed, however, on the other hand, that though the noblest and best of demagogues, he was still a demagogue not exempt from the necessities of the class; and that if he was able to restrain his countrymen from the wild career of distant conquest into which they launched after his death, it was only by identifying himself thoroughly with their selfish and unscrupulous system of aggrandizement in the Ægean. To prepare the way for his personal dictatorship, he overthrew the last conservative institution of Athens. He left nothing but himself above or beside that ‘fierce democracy,’ which he could wield, but to which his feebler successors were compelled to pander. And it may well be doubted whether the ruin which followed his decease was not a condemnation of his general policy, while it was an attestation of his personal probity and genius. Had he never lived, the development of Athens would have been slower and healthier, and in all probability her life would have been prolonged; but the life thus prolonged would have been less intense and less fruitful in works of intellect; and posterity owes too much to the Periclean era to scrutinize too narrowly the acts of Pericles.’—*Essays, fr. the T.*

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\* The latter part of this passage gives, in the opinion of many good judges, an unfair view of Pericles' character.

Battles of the Athenians and the Corinthians in the Megarid, B.C. 488—457.

About this time *Æschylus* exhibits his famous *TRI-LOGY*.

Athens interferes in a dispute between Corinth and Megara, about their borders; Megara joins the Athenian confederacy; Sparta incites Corinth and Epidaurus against Athens; the Athenians, at first repulsed at Halæ, are afterwards victorious; they conquer Ægina, B.C. 457, and conquer under Myronides at Cimolia.

Expedition of Sparta to assist the Dorians against the Phocians, and to create a counterpoise in Bœotia to the increasing power of Athens. Rupture with Athens.

BATTLE OF TANAGRA, in Bœotia, B.C. 457: the Spartans victorious over the Athenians.

Three months afterwards the Athenians retrieve their fortune by THE BATTLE OF CENOPHYTA, in Bœotia, B.C. 456, won by Myronides over the Bœotians, incited by the Spartans, in consequence of which the greater part of the Bœotians and the Phocians join the Athenian confederacy: the Democratic party in the ascendant in Bœotia: completion of the long walls of Athens: recall of Cimon from exile. In this year, also, Herodotus is said to have recited his history at the Olympic games.

‘If we may trust to a report, not sanctioned indeed by writers of high authority, but in itself not improbable, the book of Herodotus was composed, not to be read, but to be heard. It was not to the slow circulation of a few copies, which the rich only could possess, that the aspiring author looked for his reward. The great Olympian festival—the solemnity which collected multitudes, proud of the Grecian name, from the wildest mountains of Doris, and the remotest colonies of Italy and Libya—was to witness his triumphs. The interest of the narrative and the beauty of the style were aided by the imposing effect of recitation—by the splendour of the spectacle—by the powerful influence of sympathy. A critic who could have asked for authorities in the midst of such a scene, must have been of a cold and sceptical nature; and few such critics were there. As was the historian, such were the auditors—inquisitive, credulous, easily moved by religious awe or patriotic enthusiasm. They were the very men to hear with delight of strange beasts and birds and trees—of dwarfs, giants, and cannibals—of gods whose very name it was impiety to utter—of ancient dynasties, which had left behind monuments surpassing all the works of later times—of towns like provinces—of rivers like seas—of stupendous walls, temples, and pyramids—of the rites which the Magi performed at day-break on the tops of the mountains—of the secrets inscribed on the eternal obelisks

at Memphis. With equal delight they would have listened to the graceful romances of their own country. They now heard of the exact accomplishment of obscure predictions—of the punishment of crimes over which the justice of heaven seemed to slumber—of dreams, omens, warnings from the dead—of princesses, for whom noble suitors contended in every generous exercise of strength and skill—of infants strangely preserved from the dagger of the assassin, to fulfil high destinies.

‘As the narrative approached their own times, the interest became still more absorbing. The chronicler had now to tell the story of that great conflict, from which Europe dates its intellectual and political supremacy—a story which, even at this distance of time, is the most marvellous and the most touching in the annals of the human race—a story abounding with all that is wild and wonderful, with all that is pathetic and animating—with the gigantic caprices of infinite wealth and absolute power—with the mightier miracles of wisdom, of virtue, and of courage. He told them of rivers dried up in a day—of provinces famished for a meal—of a passage for ships hewn through the mountains—of a road for armies spread upon the waves—of monarchies and commonwealths swept away—of anxiety, of terror, of confusion, of despair!—and then of proud and stubborn hearts tried in that extremity of evil, and not found wanting—of resistance long maintained against desperate odds—of lives dearly sold when resistance could be maintained no more—of signal deliverance and of unsparing revenge. Whatever gave a stronger air of reality to a narrative so well calculated to inflame the passions, and to flatter national pride, was certain to be favourably received.’—*E. R.*

End of the Third Messenian War, and surrender of Ithome: the exiles are settled by Tolmidas at Naupactus: Tolmidas cruises round the Peloponnesus, and makes descents on the coast: the Athenians make an expedition into Thessaly, to revenge themselves for the treachery of the Thessalians at Tanagra. B.C. 455.

Campaign of Pericles in Sicily and Acarnania: unsuccessful attack upon Ceniadæ. B.C. 454.

THE FIVE YEARS' TRUCE, NEGOTIATED BY CIMON, B.C. 450, between the Peloponnesians and Athenians.

‘Cimon, recalled from exile, endeavoured to re-establish the domestic tranquillity of Greece, and at the same time to renew the war against the Persians: he succeeded in his attempt, after the lapse of five years, and the consequence was, his victorious expedition against Persia.’—*H. G.*

The Athenians defeat the Persians by land and sea at

Salamis, in Cyprus, B.C. 449. Death of Cimon shortly before the battle. Peace with Persia.

'The fear of losing the whole island compelled Artaxerxes I. to sign a treaty of peace with Athens, in which he recognised the independence of the Asiatic Greeks, and agreed that his fleet should not navigate the Ægean Sea, nor his troops approach within three days' march of the coast.'—*H. P. A.*

'The conclusion of peace with Persia, glorious as it was, and the death of the man whose grand political object was to preserve union among the Greeks, again roused the spirit of internal strife. For notwithstanding nearly twenty years intervened before the tempest burst with all its fury, this period was so turbulent during its course that Greece seldom enjoyed universal peace. While Athens, by her naval strength, was maintaining her ascendancy over the confederates, and while some of those confederates were raising the standard of rebellion, and passing over to Sparta, everything was gradually combining towards the formation of a counter-league, the necessary consequence of which must have been a war, such as the Peloponnesian.'—*H. G.*

Sacred War, for the possession of the Oracle at Delphi, between the Phocians, assisted by Athens, and the Delphians, assisted by Sparta, B.C. 448. The Athenians succeed in reinstating the Phocians in the care of the temple, and obtain for themselves the right of 'first consulting the Oracle' [*προμαντεία*].

BATTLE OF CORONEA, in Bœotia: defeat of the Athenians by the Bœotians: death of Tolmidas. The Aristocratical party in Bœotia regain the ascendancy, and the Athenian troops are withdrawn. B.C. 447.

Revolt of Eubœa and Megara from Athens: the Spartans, under Pleistonax, invade Attica, for the purpose of hindering Pericles in his efforts to reduce them, but retire, their king, Pleistonax, and his guardian, Cleandridas, having been probably bribed by Pericles. (Pericles is said to have charged ten talents to the public account, and to have designated it as expended on a proper but nameless service—*περί τὸ δῖον*—for necessary expenses: an item which was passed without investigation.) After the Peloponnesians had retired, Pericles quells the revolt of Eubœa. **The Thirty Years' Truce** [*αἱ τριακοντούτεες μετὰ Εὐβοίας ἀλωσιν σπονδαί*] is concluded between Sparta and Athens, B.C. 445. (It lasts, however, only fourteen years.)

Pericles begins to have the sole management of public affairs in Athens: banishment of Thucydides, son of Milesias, and complete suppression of the Aristocratical party in Athens, B.C. 444.

The Athenians send a colony to Thurii, which Herodotus accompanies, B.C. 443. Melissus, Empedocles, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes, flourish about this period, or a little later.

‘ Since the Persian war, Athens had become the seat of philosophy and art, which had long flourished in the earlier quiet, riches, and civilization of Ionia, but had hitherto been little cultivated in Greece. Their growth had been liberally encouraged under the administrations of Themistocles and Cimon, and that of Pericles went yet further in the same career. The city was adorned with master-pieces of sculpture, painting, and architecture. The religious festivals were accompanied with contests in poetry and music. Tragedy, from a rude ode in honour of Bacchus, had been raised by Thespis, Phrynichus, and others, to a delineation of human action and suffering; had been clothed by Æschylus with the utmost loftiness of thought and expression, and set forth with all the aids of scenic effect; and was still most successfully pursued by Sophocles, Euripides, and others not meanly gifted, though inferior to these. Comedies were exhibited, disgraced indeed with licentious ribaldry and gross personal abuse, but rife with wit and humour, lively painting of character, and keen political satire. Many distinguished philosophers were resident in Athens, and the citizens flocked to hear them discourse in porticoes and other places of public resort. With such amusements, the people must needs have been unusually pure of taste and active in mind; but their time was given to little but amusement, and hence they were, like other idlers, lightminded and capricious. Secure of subsistence and pleasure at the public expense, the many wanted the discipline of necessity, which, habituating men to strict attention in their particular pursuits, enables them, when called on, to display the like on questions of national utility. They were not drawn from private business by the interest of important state proceedings, but, having no business, they found amusement in lively debate, and pride in the exercise of their franchise. Accordingly, they thought more of criticising the speakers than weighing the measures; they were greedy of flattery, readily led away by promises, careless and hasty in decision, because, though singularly quick of apprehension, they were impatient of continuous thought. Had Athens commanded no resources but its own, it would have been impossible to support in idleness so large a portion of the people; but the subject states were liable to unlimited extortion. Any proposed exaction, however oppressive, was eagerly caught at by the swarm of idlers who looked for maintenance and pleasure to the lavish expenditure of the state; and their number and frequent attendance in the assembly would generally ensure the success of any measure which united them in its favour. Hence arose a crew of profligate demagogues, who attained a paramount influence

by being ready to propose, at any cost of justice, humanity, and ultimate advantage, whatever promised to the multitude an immediate gain; and who frequently turned their ascendancy to profit, by taking presents from the allies as the price of forbearance and protection. The populace drew both gain and pleasure from the submission of the allies; the pride of each was flattered in proportion to his personal insignificance, by the homage paid him as a citizen of the sovereign republic; their hopes of individual enjoyment were all bound up in the continuance and extension of the empire; and the passions thence resulting were studiously exasperated by unprincipled orators. What wonder, then, that we shall hereafter find their sway as jealous, as oppressive, and, in case of revolt, their vengeance as cruel, as their rule had been unjust?—*E. R.*

Quarrel between the Milesians and Samians: the Athenians, under Pericles, interfere, oblige the Samians to establish a Democracy in their city, and on their revolt, subdue and take Samos, after nine months of hostilities, B.C. 440.

Colony of Agnon sent by the Athenians to Amphipolis, B.C. 437.

WAR BREAKS OUT BETWEEN THE CORINTHIANS AND CORCYRÆANS ABOUT EPIDAMNUS: the Corcyræans are victorious in a sea fight, and blockade Epidamnus, B.C. 435.

The Corcyræans and Corinthians send embassies to Athens to solicit aid: the Athenians form a defensive alliance with the Corcyræans, B.C. 433.

Naval battles off Corcyra: the Corcyræans, assisted by the Athenians (Andocides, the orator, one of the commanders), defeat the Corinthians: Potidæa (a colony of Corinth) revolts from the Athenian alliance: siege of Potidæa commenced: a Congress is held at Sparta in the autumn to decide on war with Athens, at the instigation of the Corinthians, B.C. 432.

The power of Athens at its height just before the commencement of the Peloponnesian War.

‘Athens now formed the centre of a territory which the ancients have denominated a kingdom. In that narrow space of time which intervened between the battles of Mycale and Platæa and the memorable war of Peloponnesus, Athens had established her authority over the



extent of a thousand miles of the Asiatic coast, from Cyprus to the Thracian Bosphorus; taken possession of forty intermediate islands, together with the important straits which join the Euxine and the Ægean; conquered and colonized the winding shores of Thrace and Macedonia; commanded the coast of the Euxine, from Pontus to the Chersonesus Taurica; and, overawing the barbarous natives by the experienced terrors of her fleet, at the same time rendered subservient to her own interests the colonies which Miletus and other Greek cities of Asia had established in those remote regions. Thus the Athenian galleys commanded the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean; their merchants had engrossed the traffic of the adjacent countries; the magazines of Athens abounded with wood, metal, ebony, ivory, and all the materials of the useful as well as the agreeable arts; they imported the luxuries of Italy, Sicily, Cyprus, Lydia, Pontus, and the Peloponnesus.—*E. R.*

*The Chief Causes of the Peloponnesian War* were—1. The jealousy between Athens and Sparta; 2. The antipathy between the Democratic and Aristocratic spirit; 3. The despotic manner in which the allies were treated by Athens, and their consequent discontent.

'We must be content to point out the following obvious points of opposition between the contending parties:—

'In the first place, then, Dorians were opposed to Ionians, and hence in the well-known oracle it was called the Doric war.

'2nd. The union of the free Greeks against the evil ambition of one state.

'3rd. Land-forces against sea-forces.

'4th. Large bodies of men practised in war against wealth.

'5th. Slow and deliberate conviction against determined rashness.

'6th. Maintenance of ancient custom as opposed to the desire of novelty.

'7th. Union of nations and tribes against one arbitrarily formed.

'8th. Aristocracy against democracy.

'This difference was manifested in the first half of the war by Athens changing, while Sparta only restored, governments; for in this instance also the power of Sparta was in strictness only employed in upholding ancient establishments, as an aristocracy may indeed be overthrown, but cannot be formed, in a moment.'—*Müll. Dor.*

*The immediate Causes were*—1. The war between Corinth and Corcyra; 2. The Revolt of Potidæa.

**THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR** (which lasted Twenty-seven years), **FROM B.C. 431—404.**

*Allies of Athens.*

All the islands of the *Ægean* (except Melos and Thera), Corcyra, Zacynthus, Chios, Lesbos, Samos; the Greek colonies on the coast of Asia Minor, and on the shores of Thrace and Macedon; Naupactus, Platæa, and some places of Acarnania.

*Allies of Sparta.*

All the Peloponnesus, except Argos and Achaia, which stood neutral; Bœotia, Locris, Phocis, and Megara; Ambracia, Anaetorium, and the island of Leucas.

The War may be divided into three principal periods—  
I. The Ten Years' War (*ὁ δεκαετής πόλεμος*), from the commencement to the Fifty Years' Truce of Nicias, B.C. 431–421.—II. From the recommencement of the War down to the end of the Sicilian Expedition, B.C. 418–413.—III. The Decelean War and Naval War on the coast of Asia Minor, from B.C. 413–404.

'The hour had already come, and Pericles was the man. The climax of the glory of Athens was the age of Pericles, and even yet more than the age of Pericles, great as the accompaniments of that age might be, Pericles himself. Aristides had, by the confidence which his unimpeachable probity inspired, laid the foundation of the Athenian supremacy of the *Ægean* in the hearts of the Greek confederates. Themistocles had, with his ready fertility of resource and long-sighted divination, given a lasting impulse to the Athenian navy. But it was not till Pericles arose that the Athenian empire itself was founded and consolidated. The detailed measures of the external policy by which 'the *Ægean* sea became an Athenian lake,' belong to a larger discussion of the subject than is here possible, and cannot, perhaps, in all instances, be traced with certainty up to the guiding hand which ruled the destinies of the republic at that critical time. But his personal influence in sustaining and directing the new energies and powers of his countrymen in Athens itself, is as indisputable as it is striking. He was, indeed, not only the founder of the Athenian empire, but the second founder of the Athenian city. Of that city, which was the delight of Sophocles, and Socrates, and Demosthenes, and whose crown of matchless colonnades and temples is still the wonder of the civilized world, hardly a trace existed before the time of Pericles. Had Themistocles been allowed to carry out his intentions to the full, it is probable that the Holy Rock, with all its venerable recollections, would have been deserted, and that a new town, as graceless as it could have been convenient, would have sprung up on the shores of the Piræic harbour. But Pericles had not drunk in the wisdom of Anaxagoras, and enjoyed the friendship of Phidias for nothing. Few men have ever lived who were so well calculated to unite the useful and the beautiful, the new and the old. The town of Piræus was still indeed to be encouraged; and though the gigantic walls, which were to have turned it into an impregnable fortress, were never completed; its streets were laid out in long, straight avenues, as commodious for purposes of traffic as they were up to that

time unprecedented in Grecian architecture. But the maritime city, instead of being separated from its parent stock, was joined with it by the huge arms of the two Long Walls, which thus formed the ancient and modern town into one city and one fortress, and by acknowledging the importance of both elements, prevented the rivalry or destruction of either. And now began that work of embellishment, by which not only was the original inland home of the Athenian people to be compensated for any favours to its new offshoots, but Athens itself was to be represented in outward appearance, as she was in real greatness—to be clothed, as Mr. Grote beautifully expresses it, in her imperial mantle of sculptures and statues and buildings—at once the queen and the instructress of Greece.

‘But it was not merely by the outward magnificence of his career that he dazzled the eyes of his countrymen. Far more remarkable was the influence which he exercised over them by the force of his personal character, especially when contrasted with all Athenian statesmen before or afterwards. Without infringing in the slightest degree on the democratic freedom, either of the manners or the constitution of Athens, he was yet virtually its sovereign. Alone of all the ministers, if one may so call him, of that extraordinary people, he was alike respected, loved, and feared; and therefore able to combat with effect ‘the constitutional malady’ of his countrymen—‘excessive intensity of the feeling of the moment.’ What his oratory was has been already described. However wild the audience—

He called

Across the tumult, and the tumult fell.

More striking even than the effect of his speaking was the effect of his silence. Over the people assembled in Pnyx, Cleon and Demosthenes may have exerted an influence almost as powerful. But over the people in their homes, in those numerous relations, whether political or private, in which every Athenian was placed by the necessities of the constitution or of the age, no spell was ever equal to that of Pericles; and this, not merely in public prosperity, and in the height of his popularity, but amidst gloom and anxiety, and suspicion and anger. When, at the opening of the Peloponnesian war, the long enjoyment of every comfort which peace and civilization could bring was suddenly interrupted by the stern pressure of hostile invasion; when the whole population of Attica was crowded within the narrow circuit of the city of Athens; when to the inflammable materials, which the populace of a Grecian town would always afford, were added the discontented landowners and peasants from the country, who were obliged to exchange the olive glades of Colonus, and the thymy slopes of Hymettus, and the oak forests of Acharnæ, for the black shade of the Pelasgicum, and the stifling huts along the dusty plain between the Long Walls; when, without, were seen the fire and smoke ascending from the ravage of their beloved orchards and gardens; and, within, the excitement was aggravated to the highest pitch by the little knots which gathered at every corner of the winding streets, and by the dark predictions of impending evil which were handed about by prophecy-mongers from mouth to mouth; when all these feelings, awakened by a situation so wholly new in a population so irritable, turned against one man as the author of the present distress, then it was seen how their respect for

that one man united with their inherent respect for law to save the state.

'Not only did he restrain the more eager spirits from sallying forth to defend their burning property—not only did he calm and elevate their despondency by his speeches in the Pnyx and Ceramicus—not only did he, in the more critical moments of the invasion, refuse to call an Assembly—but no attempt at an Assembly was ever made.

'The groups in the streets never grew into a mob, and even when to the horrors of a blockade were added those of a dreadful pestilence, public tranquillity was never for a moment disturbed—the order of the constitution was never for a moment infringed. And yet the man who thus swayed the minds of his fellow-citizens was the very reverse of what we commonly call a demagogue. Unlike his aristocratic rival, Cimon, he never won their favour by indiscriminate bounty. Unlike his democratic successor, Cleon, he never influenced their passions by coarse invectives. Unlike his kinsman, Alcibiades, he never sought to dazzle them by a display of his genius or his wealth. But, in spite of an impassiveness and reserve, which must have been ten times more uncongenial to an Athenian than to an English public, they paid him the homage which, as Mr. Grote observes, was always rendered by them to the quality so rare in Grecian statesmen—of incorruptible honesty. It was the union of this quality with his great abilities which contains the true secret of the power of Pericles, and which renders his career, as Mr. Grote proudly writes, 'without a parallel in Grecian history.'

'And well may the narrative rise into a more than ordinary pathos, as it recounts his mournful yet characteristic end. 'At the very moment when Pericles was preaching to his countrymen, in a tone almost reproachful, the necessity of manful and unabated devotion to the common country in the midst of private suffering, he was himself amongst the greatest of sufferers, and most hardly pressed to set the example of observing his own precepts. The epidemic—then raging within the walls of the city—carried off not merely his two sons, but also his sister, several other relatives, and his best and most useful political friends. Amidst this train of calamities he remained master of his grief, and maintained his habitual self-command, until the last misfortune—the death of his favourite son Paralus, which left his house without any legitimate representative to maintain the family and its hereditary sacred rites. On this final blow—the greatest that, according to the Greek feeling, could befall any human being—though he strove to command himself as before, yet at the obsequies of the young man, when it became his duty to place a garland on the dead body, his grief became uncontrollable, and he burst out, for the first time in his life, into profuse tears and sobbing.' Every feeling of resentment seems to have passed away from the hearts of the Athenian people before the touching sight of the marble majesty of their great statesman yielding to the common emotion of their own excitable nature. Every measure was passed which could alleviate this deepest sorrow of his declining age. But it was too late; care and affliction had done their work; and in the fulness of years and honours, he sank into the atrophy from which he never rallied. We have often heard the affecting narrative of his death-bed; but it is only those who have read the detailed account of his administration in Mr. Grote's pages, that can fully enter into the

meaning of those last words, which broke from him as he lay apparently passive in the hands of the nurses, who had hung round his neck the amulets which in life and health he had scorned; and whilst his friends were dwelling with pride on the nine trophies which, on the hills and vales of Boeotia and Samos, and the shores of Peloponnesus, bore witness to his success during his forty years' career. Then it was that the dying man, who heard what they said when they fancied that he was past hearing, broke in with the emphatic words which, after his manner, condensed into one vivid image the wise and peaceful and humane policy of his whole political, not less than of his military life—'I wonder at your praise for what in part I owe to Fortune—for what in part I share with other warrior-statesmen. That of which I am most proud you have left unsaid—No Athenian, through my fault, was ever clothed in the black garb of mourning.'—*Q. R.*

*1st Year of the War.*—Attempt of the Thebans on Plataeæ, and invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians. The Athenians sail round the Peloponnesus and make reprisals, B.C. 431.

'Plataeæ was situated on the slope of Mount Cithæron, as its terraces descend into the great plain of Thebes—the last town or village, for it was hardly more, which the traveller would visit before he crossed into the pass which would lead him into Attica. In this situation was the secret at once of its glory and its misfortune. Far enough removed from Thebes to claim a partial independence from her dominion—the refuge, in all probability, of the aboriginal inhabitants, who, claiming, as they did, a descent from the nymphs of Cithæron and the torrent Asopus, entrenched themselves under their native crags, and within their ancestral streams, from the encroachments of the new city, which lay enthroned on her seven-gated hill—Plataeæ had always been an object of the jealousy and anger of her powerful neighbour and reputed sovereign. But close behind the mountain-wall of Cithæron was a hardly less powerful friend, ever at hand to succour. In less than two hours the Plataean citizen could turn his back on the hated Thebes, and look down upon the sacred plain of Eleusis, and feel that he was a welcome guest in the genial atmosphere of Attica. Therefore it was that the fortunes of Plataeæ were naturally united with those of Athens. With the Athenians her sons had shared the danger and the glory of Marathon; and when the second great battle for the independence of Greece was fought under her walls, they had (to fulfil the injunction of an ancient oracle) removed the landmarks which divided their territory from that of Attica, and so made themselves one with the city, with whom they were thus linked in indissoluble amity, alike against the Persian oppressor and the Theban traitors, who on that memorable day appeared side by side in the hostile camp. When, therefore, the great war between Athens and Sparta was on the point of breaking out, it was natural that Thebes should seize the opportunity of plucking for ever this thorn from her side. What Hungary is to Austria, what Poland is to Russia—(we are not instituting any comparison of the merits of the respective cases)—that Plataeæ was to Thebes.'—*Q. R.*

*2nd Year.*—Second invasion of Attica. The plague rages at Athens. B.C. 430.

*3rd Year.*—Surrender of Potidæa to the Athenians: repulse of the Ambracians at Stratus: naval victories of Phormio in the Corinthian Gulf. Blockade of Platææ: attempt to surprise the Piræus: alliance of Sitalces with Athens, and his expedition into Macedonia. Death of Pericles. B.C. 429.

ATHENS DEGENERATES INTO AN UNBRIDLED DEMOCRACY, GENERALLY AT THE MERCY OF A FEW DEMAGOGUES.

*4th Year.*—Third invasion of Attica: revolt of Lesbos; siege of Mitylene: escape of part of the Platæans. The Athenians send aid to the Leontines. B.C. 428.

*5th Year.*—Fourth invasion of Attica: Mitylene is taken, and all Lesbos recovered by the Athenians. Debate at Athens on the fate of the prisoners. The demagogue Cleon rises to great importance. Surrender of Platææ: sedition and massacre at Corcyra. B.C. 427.

*6th Year.*—Expedition of Nicias against Melos. Demosthenes' expedition against Ætolia. Battles of Olpæ and Idomene, between the Ambracians and Acarnanians. Purification of Delos by the Athenians. B.C. 426.

*7th Year.*—Fifth invasion of Attica. Occupation of Pylos by Demosthenes: exploits of Brasidas: surrender of the Spartans in Sphacteria to Cleon and Demosthenes. Athenian embassy to Persia. B.C. 425.

[Aristophanes exhibits *the Acharnians*.]

*8th Year.*—Conquest and occupation of Cythera by the Athenians, under Nicias. Attempt of the Athenians on Megara; surrender of Nissæa to them. Occupation of Delium by the Athenians. Battle of Delium (the Athenians defeated by the Boeotians): campaign of Brasidas in Thrace: surrender of Amphipolis. B.C. 424.

[Aristophanes exhibits *the Knights*.]

9th Year.—Truce for a year. *EXILE OF THUCYDIDES, THE HISTORIAN.* Alcibiades commences his career as a Statesman. Revolt of Scione and Mende. B.C. 423.

Socrates flourishes.

'Socrates was in middle age when this call came upon him, and at once, and with a devotion of which the Pagan world can give no other example, he arose and followed it. From that time, for thirty years, he applied himself to 'the self-imposed task of teacher, excluding all other business, public or private, and neglecting all means of fortune.' For thirty years—for those thirty years which extend through the whole period of the Peloponnesian war—in the crowded streets and squares, where all Attica was congregated under, within the walls of Athens, to escape the Spartan invasions—during the horrors of the plague—amidst the excitements of the various vicissitudes of Pylus, of Syracuse, of the revolution of the Four Hundred, of Ægospotami, of the tyranny of the Thirty, of the restoration of the Democracy, Socrates was ever at his post, by his presence, by his voice, by his example, restraining, attracting, repelling, every class of his countrymen;—

'Early in the morning he frequented the public walks, the gymnasia for bodily training, and the schools where youths were receiving instruction; he was to be seen in the market-place at the hour when it was most crowded, among the booths and tables, where goods were exposed for sale: his whole day was usually spent in this public manner. He talked with any one, young or old, rich or poor, who sought to address him, and in the hearing of all who chose to stand by: not only he never either asked or received any reward, but he made no distinction of persons, never withheld his conversation from any one, and talked upon the same general topics to all.'

'Under any circumstance, such an apparition would have struck astonishment into a Grecian city. All other teachers, both before and afterwards, 'either took money for their lessons, or at least gave them apart from the multitude, in a private house, to special pupils, with admissions or rejections at their own pleasure.' The Academus-grove of Plato, the Garden of Epicurus, the Porch or cloister of Zeno, the Lyceum or sanctuary, with the Peripatetic shades of Aristotle, all indicate the prevailing practice. The philosophy of Socrates alone was, in every sense, the philosophy of the market-place. Very rarely, he might be found under the shade of a plane tree, or the caverned rocks of the Ilissus, enjoying the grassy slope of its banks and the little pools of water that collect in the corners of its torrent bed, and the white and purple flowers of its agnus castus shrubs. But ordinarily, whether in the city, in the dusty road between the long walls, or in the busy mart of Piræus, his place was amongst men, and with men, in every vocation of life, living, not for himself, but for them, rejecting all pay, contented in poverty. Whatever could be added to the singularity of this spectacle was added by the singularity of his outward

appearance. What that appearance was has been already indicated. Amidst the gay life, the beautiful forms, the brilliant colours of an Athenian multitude and an Athenian street, the repulsive features, the unwieldy figure, the naked feet, the rough threadbare attire of the philosopher, must have excited every sentiment of astonishment and ridicule which strong contrast can produce. And if to this we add the occasional trance, the eye fixed on vacancy, the total abstraction from outward things—or, again, the momentary outbursts of violent temper—or, lastly (what we are told at times actually took place), the sudden irruptions of his wife Xanthippe to carry off her eccentric husband to his forsaken home—we shall not wonder at the universal celebrity which he acquired even irrespectively of his great powers, or of his peculiar objects. Every one knows the attention which an unusual diction, or even an unusual dress, secures for a teacher, so soon as he has once secured a hearing. A Quaker at court, or a Latter-day Prophet speaking in the language of Mr. Carlyle, has, other things considered, a better chance of being listened to than a man in ordinary costume and of ordinary address. And such, in an eminent degree, was Socrates. It was (so his disciples described it) as if one of the marble satyrs, which sat in grotesque attitudes, with pipe or flute, in the sculptors' shops at Athens, had left his seat of stone, and walked into the plane-tree avenue, or the gymnastic colonnade. Gradually the crowd gathered round him. At first he spoke of the tanners, and the smiths, and the drovers, who were plying their trades about him; and they shouted with laughter as he poured forth his homely jokes. But soon the magic charm of his voice made itself felt. The peculiar sweetness of its tone had an effect which even the thunder of Pericles failed to produce. The laughter ceased—the crowd thickened—the gay youth, whom nothing else could tame, stood transfixed and awestruck in his presence—there was a solemn thrill in his words, such as his hearers could compare to nothing but the mysterious sensation produced by the clash of drum and cymbal in the worship of the great mother of the gods—the head swam, the heart leaped at the sound—tears rushed from their eyes, and they felt that, unless they tore themselves away from that fascinated circle, they should sit down at his feet and grow old in listening to the marvellous music of this second Marsyas.

'But the excitement occasioned by his appearance was increased tenfold by the purpose which he had set before him; when, to use the expressive comparison of his pupils, he cast away his rough satyr's skin and disclosed the divine image which that rude exterior had covered. The object to which he thus devoted himself, with the zeal, 'not simply of a philosopher, but of a religious missionary doing the work of a philosopher,' was to convince men of all classes, but especially the most distinguished, that they had the 'conceit of knowledge without the reality.'—Q. R.

**10th Year.**—Expedition of Cleon to Thrace: battle of Amphipolis, defeat of the Athenians, and deaths of Cleon and Brasidas. B.C. 422.

'At Athens, the death of Cleon had left Nicias in undisputed pos-



session of the influence due to the mildness of his disposition, to the liberal use which he made of his ample fortune, and to his military skill and success, which, after the downfall of his presumptuous rival, were perhaps more justly appreciated. Nicias was desirous of peace, both for the sake of Athens, and for his own account. He was naturally timid and prone to superstition; and from the very beginning of his public life, notwithstanding his wealth, prosperity, and popularity, he seems to have been constantly haunted by a secret foreboding of some calamitous reverse. Caution was the leading principle of his conduct, both at home and abroad. As he did not know from what quarter the dreaded evil might come, he not only imitated the prudence of Pericles in his military enterprises, but endeavoured to propitiate the gods by daily sacrifices, the people by his splendid munificence, and the sycophants by frequent bribes. He is said to have kept a constant domestic soothsayer, avowedly with a view to the service of the state, but really to obtain the earliest warning of every danger which might threaten his private affairs. And the more effectually to avert the envy to which his fortune was exposed, he affected, like Pericles, to devote himself entirely to public duties; he was never to be seen at the entertainments of his friends, and confined himself to a very narrow circle at home. Those who were admitted to his closest intimacy took pains to spread the belief that he sacrificed all the enjoyments of life to the interests of the commonwealth, and that even his health was impaired by his unremitting application to business. Nicias therefore desired peace, because it was the state which seemed exposed to the fewest risks, and in which his private interests would be most secure, under the shelter of universal prosperity. As one step towards this end, he had endeavoured to conciliate the confidence of Sparta, by the good offices with which he softened the captivity of her citizens at Athens; and he was thus enabled to assume the character of a mediator between the two states.—*Thirl.*

*11th Year of the War. — The Fifty Years' Truce, negotiated by Nicias, B.C. 421.* Release of the prisoners taken at Sphacteria: alliance between Sparta and Athens: discontent of Corinth. Surrender and cruel treatment of Scione: restoration of the inhabitants of Delos: league formed between Elis, Argos, and Mantinea. B.C. 421.

[Though the fifty years' truce was not formally declared to be at an end till B.C. 415, yet frequent hostilities took place during the intervening time.]

*12th Year.*—Complaints of the non-fulfilment of various articles in the treaty: mutual distrust of Athens and Sparta. *Alcibiades* persuades the Athenians to renounce the Spartan alliance: he effects a treaty between the Athenians and Argives, of whose confederacy Athens thus became a member. B.C. 420.

**13th Year.**—Alcibiades marches into the Peloponnesus: the Argives invade Epidaurus. B.C. 419.

[Aristophanes exhibits *the Peace*.]

**14th Year.**—The Spartans invade Argolis. The Athenians send a force to aid the Argives, but the army of the Argive league is defeated by the Spartans at *the Battle of Mantinea*: alliance formed between Sparta and Argos. B.C. 418.

**15th Year.**—Revolution and counter-revolution at Argos. The Athenians aid the Leontines against Syracuse. B.C. 417.

**16th Year.**—Expedition sent by the Athenians to Melos; the Melian controversy; Melos besieged and taken; cruelty of the Athenians towards the Melians; Sparta remains inactive. B.C. 416.

**17th Year.**—**The Sicilian Expedition** (B.C. 415—413) under Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus. Mutilation of the Hermæ at Athens, just before the expedition sails. The Athenians get possession of Catana. Recall of Alcibiades on the charge of sacrilege; he escapes to Sparta. The Athenians win a battle near Syracuse. B.C. 415.

**18th Year.**—The Athenians invest Syracuse. Death of Lamachus. Gylippus sent with a Spartan fleet to its aid. B.C. 414.

‘Mr. Grote speaks with extreme bitterness and even violence of the character of Nicias, and is very angry with Thucydides for bestowing a passing sigh on the fate of a good and religious man, who was probably his political if not his personal friend. Yet it will hardly be denied, that goodness and piety deserve a sigh, more especially in an age of such spirits as those among whom the lot of Thucydides was cast. The superstition of Nicias was most gross; it was a weakness and a vice, and has no claim whatever on our sympathies: but it seems to have been, as Thucydides intimates, the diseased side of a religious nature; and the same man who sacrificed his army by refusing to march because there was an eclipse of the moon, would probably, in a cruel and faithless generation, have shown mercy and kept his oath. His abilities were no doubt overrated by his countrymen, but we think they are underrated by Mr. Grote. He had approved himself a good officer: his expedition to Cythera, if the conception as well as the execution

was his own, reflects on him the highest credit. His conduct during the later part of the siege of Syracuse seems, so far as we can judge, to have been very weak. But we cannot tell how far his faculties were paralyzed by disease. His most glaring error was that into which he was led by his superstition. But it is plain that he was wholly incompetent to the sole command of so great and difficult an enterprise. As a statesman he was at least consistent. His character must have been of great advantage to Athens in her dealings with other states. There is no ground for supposing that his desire for peace ever rendered him untrue to his duty as a patriot and a soldier; and the conduct of the aristocratic party towards its opponents, so long as he was at its head, appears to have been moderate and constitutional. The command, in which he so fatally miscarried, was forced upon him, and the expedition was undertaken against his advice, and at the instance of his political opponent. It is impossible to speak of him with admiration, and we think it would be wrong to speak of him with contempt or hatred.—*Essays, from T. N.*

[Aristophanes exhibits *the Birds*, with a view, probably, to the Sicilian Expedition.]

19th Year.—Formal rupture of the truce by the invasion of Attica by the Spartans, and the *fortification* (by the advice of Alcibiades) of *Decelea*. Consequent desertion of the Athenian slaves. Second armament sent out under Demosthenes and Eurymedon to the assistance of Nicias. Night battle, and defeat of the Athenians both by land and sea,

‘ ‘Never in Grecian history,’ adds the English historian, with all the feelings of a Greek,—‘never was an invocation more unanimous, emphatic, and imposing, addressed to the gods, and never was the refusing nod of Zeus more stern or peremptory.’ There was also the dramatic combination of incidents by which the consummation was brought about; the mysterious profanation of the guardian gods of Athens; the reckless ambition of Alcibiades; the fatal apathy, and (if we may believe Mr. Grote) the still more fatal prestige of the high character, of Nicias; the successive arrivals of Gylippus and Demosthenes—each, as it would seem, at the last gasp, first of the besieged and then of the besiegers; and above all, the overwhelming desolation of the final defeat. It is on that last crisis that Mr. Grote has expended his highest powers of analysis and description; it is that last crisis which will always give Syracuse a place in universal history which no magnificence of Dionysius or Hiero could ever have won for her. Apart from its terrible interest, it stands alone (to use the emphatic words of Mr. Grote) as ‘the most picturesque battle in history, fought within the still waters of the land-locked bay, the glory of ancient harbours—the long, low barriers of Epipolæ and of the Hyblæan hills enclosing the doomed armament as within arms of stone—the white peak of Ætna brooding over the scene from afar, like the guardian spirit of the island; there the 194 ships

met to join battle in the presence of the countless mass of spectators round the shore—'all with palpitating hearts, and near enough to see and hear—without smoke or other impediments to vision, in the clear atmosphere of Sicily—a serious and magnified realization of those naumachis which the Roman emperors used to exhibit with gladiators on the Italian lakes, for the recreation of the people.' Yet the outward grandeur of this magnificent spectacle dwindles into nothing before the pathetic and moral greatness of the 'awful, heart-stirring, and decisive combat.' There was 'the consciousness of the Syracusans that the great blow which they were about to strike was sufficient for the time to exalt them above the level even of their own Dorian chiefs in Peloponnesus; in the camp and fleet of the Athenians, the passionate misery, not only of men whose all was at stake, but of sensitive and demonstrative Greeks, and, indeed, the most sensitive and demonstrative of all the Greeks;' the testimony born by Nicias to the force of the democratical patriotism of the Athenian citizens, in his appeal to it as 'to the only flame yet alive and burning even in that moment of agony;' the infinite variety of human emotion in the groups along the shore, closing with the close of the battle in one universal shriek of despair, only equalled by that which is described as going up from the spectators on the hills round about Jerusalem, when the last crash of the burning temple announced that their national existence was at an end.'—*Q. R.*

and total destruction of the Athenian force by the assistance of the Spartans under Gylippus. Surrender and death of Demosthenes and Nicias; the prisoners are thrown into the stone quarries; those who survive their sufferings are sold as slaves. B.C. 413.

'Fatal as in the present circumstances the blow struck in Sicily must appear to have been to Athens, yet the calamity was surmounted by Athenian enthusiasm, never greater than in times of misfortune. They maintained their supremacy over the confederates; but the part which Alcibiades, in consequence of the new posture his own personal interest had assumed at Sparta, took in their affairs, brought about a twofold domestic revolution, which checked the licentious democracy.'—*H. H. R.*

'The downfall of Athens had one great cause—we may almost say, one single cause—the Sicilian expedition. The empire of Athens both was, and appeared to be, in exuberant strength when that expedition was sent forth—strength more than sufficient to bear up against all moderate faults or moderate misfortunes, such as no government ever long escapes. But the catastrophe of Syracuse was something overpassing in terrific calamity all Grecian experience and all power of foresight. It was like the Russian campaign of 1812 to the Emperor Napoleon; though by no means imputable, in an equal degree, to vice in the original project. No Grecian power could bear up against such a death-wound; and the prolonged struggle of Athens after it is not the least wonderful part of the whole war.

'It is impossible, in the limits within which we are here confined, to enlarge on the detail of a catastrophe, every part of which thrills with

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a romantic interest of its own, and to almost every part of which a new life has been given by Mr. Grote. There was a solemn prelude of the embarkation, in which the modern historian has seized with his usual felicity the characteristic features of the Thucydidean narrative—the assemblage of the whole population on the shores of Piræus, ‘so as to resemble a collective emigration’ more than an expedition—‘the dark presentiment mingling with the grandeur of the spectacle’—‘the solemn and touching moment,’ first of silence, and then of prayer and praise from the thousand voices of crews and spectators alike, which immediately succeeded the farewell.—*Ess. f. T. N.*

**20th Year.**—Spirit shown by Athens; her allies meditate revolt. Alcibiades, sent by the Spartans, forms an alliance with the Persians through Tissaphernes: revolt of Chios, Miletus, and Lesbos. Lesbos is recovered by the Athenians, and Chios besieged. Revolt of Rhodes. Quarrel between Agis and Alcibiades, who takes refuge with Persia, and becomes the confidant of Tissaphernes, whom he endeavours to gain over to the interest of Athens. B.C. 412.

‘In any other state than Athens, probably the destruction of the fleet at Syracuse would have closed, if not her history altogether, at least the struggle to maintain her empire. But with Athens it was not so. We have heard of a distinguished ecclesiastic, who, when he feels himself failing at his post, is wont to rouse himself to renewed energy by reading the celebrated description of the elasticity of the Athenian character, as given in the first book of Thucydides. Of that elasticity the whole remainder of the war is one continued exemplification. The fatal day, however, arrived at last: the gleam of light which had broken in upon the devoted city in the victory of Arginusæ, was worse than illusion; it was one of those apparent successes which bring in their train the worst calamities; and the transition which it occasioned of the Spartan counsels from ‘the noblest of the Greeks’ (Callicratidas) to ‘almost the very worst’ (in the person of Lysander), hastened and in the highest degree aggravated the final catastrophe.’—*Q. R.*

**21st Year.**—Negotiations of Alcibiades with the commanders of the Athenian army at Samos. Opposition of Phrynichus. Oligarchical intrigues of Pisander at Athens. **REVOLUTION AT ATHENS, AND ABOLITION OF DEMOCRACY.** *Constitution of the FOUR HUNDRED* (framed by Antipho in place of the βουλή (the senate). The Four Hundred hold the government for four months, and are then deposed. The army at Samos recalls Alcibiades, and appoints him one of their generals. Insurrection at

Athens, and revolt of Eubœa. Downfall of the Four Hundred; death of Antipho; appointment of the Five Thousand; recall of Alcibiades, and reconciliation with the army. **BRILLIANT PERIOD OF ALCIBIADES' COMMAND.** Mindarus, distrusting Tissaphernes, makes an alliance with Pharnabazus. **BATTLE OF CYNOSSEMA**, defeat of Mindarus by the Athenians under Thrasyllus. B.C. 411.

[Aristophanes exhibits the *Lysistrata* and *Thesmophoriazusa*. The *History of Thucydides* breaks off abruptly in this year; Xenophon's begins.]

**22nd Year.**—**BATTLE OF CYZICUS**; defeat of the Spartans by land and sea by Alcibiades; death of Mindarus. Overtures of peace made by Sparta: Cleophon, the demagogue, persuades the Athenians to reject them. Exertions of Hermocrates the Syracusan. B.C. 410.

**23rd Year.**—Battle of Ephesus; defeat of the Athenians under Thrasyllus by the Ephesians, aided by the Syracusans. The garrison at Pylos capitulates to the Spartans. B.C. 409.

**24th Year.**—Byzantium retaken by the Athenians under Alcibiades. B.C. 408.

'The Athenian dominion over Thrace and Ionia was confirmed by this important capture.'—*H. H. R.*

**25th Year.**—Return of Alcibiades in triumph to Athens, after subduing the coasts of the Hellespont and the Propontis. He celebrates the Eleusinian mysteries. Lysander, appointed admiral by the Lacedæmonians, wins over the younger Cyrus to the Spartan side, and defeats (in the absence of Alcibiades) the Athenians under Antiochus at the **BATTLE OF NOTIUM**. Alcibiades in consequence is banished, and ten generals appointed in his place, of whom Conon was one. Lysander is succeeded by Callicratidas. B.C. 407.

[Plato, the scholar of Socrates, about this time, at Athens.]

**26th Year.**—**BATTLE OF ARGINUSÆ** (near Lesbos). Defeat of Callicratidas. Illegal and cruel condemnation of eight of the ten generals; six of whom were executed, and the remaining two banished. Socrates alone resists the passing of the sentence. B.C. 406.

[Deaths in this year of Euripides and Sophocles.]

**27th Year.**—Lysander is again appointed admiral; **BATTLE OF ÆGOSPOTAMI**; decisive victory of Lysander, and annihilation of the Athenian fleet.

‘It was made known at Piræus by the consecrated ship *Paralus*, which arrived there during the night, coming straight from the Hellespont. Such a moment of distress and agony had never been experienced in Athens. The terrible disaster of Sicily had become known to the people by degrees, without any authorized reporter; but here was the official messenger, fresh from the scene, leaving no doubt or room to question the magnitude of the disaster, or the irretrievable ruin impending over the city. The wallings and cries of grief, first arising in Piræus, were transmitted by the guards stationed on the Long Walls up to the city.’—*Gr. Gr.*

Conon and nine vessels alone escape. The allies of Athens are subjugated by Lysander. Lysander besieges Athens. B.C. 405.

[Aristophanes exhibits *the Frogs*.]

‘As the tidings of Ægos-potami spread from the Piræus to the city, the cry of woe was heard on every hand; and that night, says a contemporary historian, no person slept in Athens. The loss of friends and relatives was a calamity common to all; but their own immediate condition awakened bitter reflections, according to one writer, on the cruelties which they had inflicted, in the wantonness of prosperity, upon the inhabitants of Melos, Ægina, Histiaæ, Scione, and Torone—or bitter anticipations, according to another, of the tyranny which would be exercised upon themselves by their own oligarchic faction, supported henceforth by the power of Sparta.’—*C. H. G.*

**28th and last Year.**—**ATHENS**, blockaded by Lysander by sea, and by Agis and Pausanias by land, **SURRENDERS AFTER A SIEGE OF FOUR MONTHS**; is deprived of her walls, and her navy reduced to twelve sail.

**DEMOCRACY IS ABOLISHED**, and the **Peloponnesian War ended. B.C. 404.**

‘The terms brought back by Theramenes and his colleagues at first excited surprise and indignation; but, as the leading opponents were

arrested under the charge of conspiracy to obstruct the conclusion of a peace, the treaty was ratified, after some hesitation, by an assembly convened in the theatre of the Piræus. Lysander entered the Piræus; the exiles were recalled; the surrendered ships, which he did not think fit to carry away, were burnt; and the walls were demolished, amidst the sounds of music and the rejoicing of the confederates, who were crowned with chaplets as for a festival—deeming that day, says Xenophon, as the commencement of liberty for Greece. The day was concluded with the recitation of the 'Electra' of Euripides, in which the misfortunes of the daughter of Agamemnon, exiled from a royal palace to a 'rustic and humble roof,' excited a kindred sympathy in the bosoms of the audience, recalling the dreadful vicissitudes of fortune which had befallen Athens, once mistress of the sea, and sovereign of Greece, but deprived in one fatal hour of her ships, her walls, and her strength, and reduced from the pride of power and prosperity to misery, dependence, and servitude, without exerting one memorable effort to brighten the last moment of her destiny, and render her fall illustrious.

'Thus ended the Peloponnesian war, twenty-seven years after its commencement, and four hundred and four before the birth of Christ; and thus ended, too, the dominion of Athens, seventy-six after the battle of Salamis, which had laid its foundation. Yet the city had accomplished much that was great in that period. The empire of taste and philosophy, the glory of the Hellenes, had been firmly established; the power of the Persian king had been broken; and Greece, though labouring under oppression from within, was at least emancipated from foreign dominion. With justice, therefore, might Lysias say, that 'Greece, on the fall of Athens, should have shorn her hair, and mourned at the tomb of her heroes, as over the sepulture of liberty itself.'—*E. R.*

**REIGN OF TERROR AT ATHENS UNDER THE THIRTY TYRANTS**, established by Lysander; (they hold their power for eight months;) and **SUPREMACY OF SPARTA IN GREECE**. The Acropolis garrisoned by Spartan troops.

'Upon the surrender of the Athenians to Lysander, the particulars of which we have already related, the democracy was subverted, and the supreme power of the state, which had been before vested in the assembly of the people, was committed into the hands of thirty individuals, elected by the Lacedæmonians, to manage for the future the affairs of the republic. In all other respects the laws of Athens were permitted to continue in force; nor were the ancient magistrates changed; but the holders of all the offices of the state, those by whom the laws were to be administered, and the will of the new master to be executed, were for the most part removed, and their places filled by persons who, from party connexions or other causes, were supposed to be favourable to the Lacedæmonian influence; or, at least, who were known to have disliked that order of things which the Lacedæmonians had put down. Xenophon has given us the names of the 'Thirty,' as they were called, to whom the administration of the republic was committed, of whom only



two appear to have been men of superior weight of character; these were Critias and Theramenes.—*Ency. Metr.*

Impeachment and execution of numbers of the Democratic party: violence of Critias, a renegade disciple of Socrates. Dissensions among the Thirty. Impeachment of Theramenes by Critias: execution of Theramenes. Murder of Alcibiades in Phrygia at the instance of Lysander.

'Thus fell Alcibiades, having scarcely passed the fortieth year of a most eventful life. Nature seemed to have lavished her bounties upon him. A noble origin, singular personal beauty, grace of manner, immense patrimonial riches, eloquence the most persuasive, acuteness the most penetrating, bravery the most undaunted, Pericles for his guardian, and Socrates for his friend and adviser—all seemed to mark him out as destined for a happy and glorious career. Never, perhaps, was so fair a prospect dashed so early with clouds, and so soon overspread with total gloom. Yet he can scarcely be said to have owed his ruin to the absolute preponderance of his vices. He possessed, throughout life, many virtues, to which even the plots of his adversaries bore witness. His love for his country, amidst all the injuries he received from her, was his ruling passion to the last. A second time an exile from her shores, after conferring numberless benefits on her, he died a martyr to his unshaken desire to effect her ransom. His public life—if we except the devious methods by which he sometimes proceeded to effect good designs, and his offer of advice to the Spartans after his first exile—was full of patriotism, forbearance, and wisdom. His great want was that of principle, and by that want he was undone. He acted from impulses which he had never learned to restrain. His love towards his country, though his strongest impulse, was essentially a personal feeling, and very different from a calm sense of duty or earnest desire for the general welfare. He had nothing within which could enable him to become master of himself, and direct his faculties by honourable courses to noble ends. He often, indeed, adapted his manners with astonishing facility to those of his associates; he was the most patient in Lacedæmon, the most robust at Thebes, the most jovial among the Thracians, and the most splendid among the Persians; but in none of his changes was he actuated by any principle, either false or true, but simply by a desire to surpass his colleagues in all which they esteemed most noble or dazzling. There was no common centre round which his mighty powers and vehement impulses could revolve. He gratified all his feelings of insolence, luxury, or pride, without regard to times or seasons, except when some strong passion gave him a short-lived consistency of character. Never did any one, to whom interests so mighty were committed, suffer himself to be so often influenced by momentary fancies that destroyed the measures on which his dearest hopes were dependent. He was a partizan without revenge, and a victor without cruelty; but these excellencies availed him little, because he had not singleness of heart, nor directness of purpose, to render them effectual for his country's salvation. The constitution of his mind was oriental rather than Grecian. His personal character, and not that of his cause,

predominated in all his actions. His sense of pleasure was too keen, and his pride too great, to allow that absorption of himself into a state which alone could fit him for the subject, much less for the preserver, of a republic. He could assume a thousand shapes, but in all he was an actor. The abstraction of spirit, which made an ancient patriot lose the sense of personal identity, as a public character, in the idea of forming a part in a great whole—which caused him to live only in the triumphs and die with the fall of the body politic—was totally averse from his nature. He would have risked his life a thousand times for his native city, but he would never have rejoiced with the Spartans that it contained three hundred worthier than himself to govern. Hence he was unfitted to rouse the slumbering energies of a state in the cause of freedom. The bands which joined him were always actuated by regard to him as an individual, not by any general spirit inspired by his cause. His fortunes were strangely linked with those of a state which, by casting him the first time from the summit of greatness, brought herself to the verge of ruin; and after madly repeating the injustice, when his arm raised her from the dust, sunk almost without a struggle. In his death, which she had once formally decreed, and at last remotely occasioned, she saw her last hope expire. If he was not altogether worthy to be the preserver of the Athenian greatness, he merited the honour of casting the last rays of glory over it, and having his fall for ever identified with its destruction.'—*Ency. Metr.*

The Athenian exiles retire to Thebes: Thrasybulus heads them, occupies Phylæ, and defeats the troops of the Thirty. B.C. 404.

### **Revolution in Athens, and Expulsion of the Thirty by Thrasybulus and his Party.**

'It was easy to re-establish forms; to recall the departed spirit of the nation was impossible.'—*H. H. R.*

Restoration and reform of Solon's Constitution, and general Amnesty; peace with Sparta; return of the Exiles. B.C. 403.

Able and beneficent government of Evagoras in Cyprus.

[Artaxerxes II., Mnemon, King of Persia, B.C. 405—362: his war with his brother Cyrus, in which Cyrus was assisted by the Spartans and a large body of Greek mercenary troops, brings about THE WAR OF THE SPARTANS WITH PERSIA].

'The only prominent incident in this part of Grecian history was the expedition of the Greeks under Cyrus, in the rebellion of that prince against his brother Artaxerxes. This event may be considered as having ultimately led to the overthrow of the Persian monarchy, by opening the eyes of the Grecians to the internal weakness of that large and ill-

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connected empire. The details of the expedition, also, as they have been handed down to us by Xenophon, at once the historian and the leader of that unfortunate but marvellous achievement, throw no inconsiderable light upon the manners and customs of the times, both in the East and among the Greeks themselves.'—*Ency. Metr.*

BATTLE OF CUNAXA: death of Cyrus; retreat of the 10,000 under Xenophon: B.C. 401. Hostility of Persia: commencement of the war of Sparta against Persia.

Impeachment and death of *Socrates*, B.C. 399.

CAMPAIGNS OF THIMBRON, DERCYLLIDAS, AND AGESILAUS, IN ASIA, B.C. 399—395; for the liberation of the Greeks of Asia Minor from Persia.

'The conviction he obtained of the domestic weakness of the Persian Empire in the successful invasion of Phrygia, seems to have matured in the mind of Agesilaus the idea of overturning the Persian throne: this design he would have accomplished, had not the Persians been politic enough to kindle a war against Sparta in Greece itself.'—*H. H. R.*

THE CORINTHIAN WAR, B.C. 394—387; waged by the confederated States of Corinth, Argos, Athens, Thebes, and Thessaly, against Sparta.

'The tyranny of Sparta, and more particularly the recent devastation of Elis, was the alleged pretext; but the bribes of Timocrates, the Persian Envoy, were the real causes of this war.'—*H. H. R.*

Invasion of Boeotia by the Spartans; they are defeated at the BATTLE OF HALIARTUS, and Lysander is killed. B.C. 395.

Recall of Agesilaus from Asia: he defeats the allied forces at the battle of Coronea (B.C. 394); but about the same time Conon, in command of the combined Persian and Athenian fleets, annihilates that of Sparta, under Pisander, at the BATTLE OF CNIDUS. B.C. 394.

Conon and Pharnabazus expel the Spartan Harmosts from the islands and the Greek cities in Asia Minor (which gradually lose their independence), and ravage the coasts of the Peloponnesus: Conon begins to rebuild the long walls of Athens, and RESTORED (for a short time) THE

**MARITIME SUPREMACY OF ATHENS.** Victory of the Lacedæmonians at the battle of Lechæum. B.C. 393.

Antalcidas, the Lacedæmonian commander, opposed to Chabrias and Iphicrates on the Athenian side.

The inglorious Peace of Antalcidas, B.C. 387, brought about by the Spartans, to withdraw the Persians from their alliance with Athens: the Greeks submit to the humiliation of allowing a foreign potentate to dictate the terms on which they were to accommodate their differences with each other.

'This peace was an incident of mournful import in Grecian history. Its true character cannot be better described than by a brief remark and reply, which we find cited in Plutarch,—'Alas for Hellas' (observed some one to Agesilaus) 'when we see our Laconians mediating!' 'Nay' (replied the Spartan king), 'say rather the Medes (Persians) laconising.'—*Gr. Gr.*

By this treaty the Greek cities in Asia Minor, and the island of Cyprus, are abandoned to the Persians.

'The position of Sparta, though seemingly strong, was artificial and precarious; whilst the majestic attitude in which the Persian king dictated terms to Greece, disguised a profound consciousness, that his throne subsisted only by sufferance, and that its best security was the disunion of the people, with whom he assumed so lordly an air.'—*T.*

'The proposal for a general peace came from Teribazus; and the terms in which it was made, were such as it might have been supposed would not be grateful to the vanity of the Greek nation. The congress being opened, Teribazus produced the king's rescript, to which was attached the royal signet. It ran thus—"Artaxerxes, the king, thinks it just that the cities in Asia, and the two isles of Clazomena and Cyprus should be his own; but that all the rest of the Grecian cities, both small and great, should be free and independent, except Lemnos, Imbros, and Scios, to continue in subjection to the Athenians. And whatever state refuses this peace, I myself, with such as receive it, shall make war against that people by sea and land, both with ships and with money."—*Enc. Metr.*

Great ascendancy of Sparta by land. Interference of Sparta at Phlius.

Sparta interferes in the quarrel between Olynthus and the cities of Acanthus and Apollonia. **THE OLYNTHIAN WAR**, B.C. 382—379, in which Sparta, after considerable losses, proves victorious. The seizure, in the first year of

this war, of the Cadmea of Thebes by Phœbidas (on his march to Olynthus), for the purpose of aiding the Oligarchical against the Democratic faction in Thebes, leads to

## THE WAR BETWEEN THEBES AND SPARTA, B.C. 378—362.

[*The Panegyric of Isocrates*, pronounced B.C. 380.]

Recovery of the Cadmea by Pelopidas and the Theban exiles, B.C. 379. Fruitless campaigns of Cleombrotus and Agesilaus in Bœotia. Defensive war, conducted by Pelopidas, during which he established the supremacy of Thebes throughout Bœotia. Alliance of Athens with Thebes: naval successes of Athens under Chabrias, Iphicrates, and Timotheus, son of Conon: the Spartan fleet annihilated at Naxos and at Leucadia: Athens regains her power over the maritime states.

*Congress at Sparta*: Athens negotiates a Peace; Thebes is excluded from the treaty.

‘Since the death of Pindar, no poet, no orator, no historian, no man of genius in any department of literature or science, had arisen in Thebes to repel and refute the calumny with which they were assailed, and the Thebans had long neglected the pursuit of mental excellence; but of those exercises which are in a peculiar manner requisite to fit a people for warlike exertions and martial achievements, they had not been negligent. And at the period of which we are now treating, they were eminently famous for the peculiar care with which they cultivated, and for the dexterity and skill with which they performed, the gymnastic exercises; for the superior condition of their cavalry, both in arms and in exercise; and equally for the variety, as for the excellence, of the modes in which they ordered and arraigned their troops in battle. With such a people there were only wanting, in order to insure their present success and their future fame, a general of talents and skill to lead and direct their operations, and that emulation of superiority, and that enthusiasm and ardour in the cause in which they were engaged, without which, it may be truly said, no army was ever successful. In Epaminondas, and in Pelopidas, the first requisite was ably supplied; for those generals were men of such talent, intrepidity, and experience, that if they had not surpassed, they had shown themselves fully equal to any of those great characters who conducted the councils and led the armies of the other states of Greece. In the latter respect, the events in which they had been engaged had powerfully operated in rousing among the Thebans a spirit which they had

not formerly possessed, or which, till now, had lain dormant, in consequence of the want of sufficient excitation. They had spurned the oppression of Sparta, and in desperation had thrown off the yoke of their oppressors: in defensive war success had, as yet, crowned their endeavours; and the former disturbed state of their country had bound many of them by the strictest ties and the closest engagements to live and to die in the defence of their national independence. All these circumstances combined to give such energy and activity to their measures, that it might be said, without exaggeration, that the Thebans now sighed as much for the uncertain glory of war, as they had formerly longed for the ease and security of peace.'—*Enc. Metr.*

**Period of Jason, Cagus of Thessaly, and of Epaminondas, generalissimo of Thebes.**

'In his life is contained all that is memorable in the history of Thebes. Under his guidance that republic rose from a state of dependence, almost insignificance, to hold the highest rank among the cities of Greece; with his death, her career of glory terminated; and had he not existed, it is probable that her name would have been untraced by the pen of the historian, except for the purpose of bestowing on her the slender commendation of being the faithful ally of the sickle Athenians, or the humble follower of haughty Lacedæmon.'—*S. Dict. of B.*

Fresh invasion of Boeotia by the Lacedæmonians: they are defeated by the Thebans, under Epaminondas, at the **Battle of Leuctra**. B.C. 371. 'Epaminondas wins the battle by deepening his line, and attacking one point in the enemy's army.'

Immense moral influence of this battle.

### PREDOMINANCE OF THEBES.

First, second, and third invasions of the Peloponnesus by the Thebans, in alliance with Arcadia, Elis, and Argos. The attack on Sparta itself is unsuccessful, but the *freedom and independence of Messenia is restored*. B.C. 369.

Messene and Megalopolis are founded; Sparta becomes a second-rate power.

'The long struggle maintained so gloriously by Epaminondas against Sparta is remarkable both in a political and military point of view. The power of Sparta was abased; Epaminondas invented a new system of tactics (out of which soon after sprang the Macedonian art of war); and as soon as he found confederates in Peloponnesus itself, he made his way to the very gates of Sparta.'—*Enc. Metr.*

**Expedition of Pelopidas into Thessaly: alliance of Thebes and Persia.** B.C. 368.

The 'Tearless Victory,' won by Archidamus over the united forces of Argos, Arcadia, and Messenia. B.C. 367.

Death of Pelopidas, B.C. 364.

Fourth invasion of the Peloponnesus by the Thebans, under Epaminondas: **Battle of Mantinea**, victory of the Thebans, and death of Epaminondas. B.C. 362.

'Cicero pronounces him to be the first man of Greece. The judgment of Polybius, though not summed up so emphatically in a single epithet, is delivered in a manner hardly less significant and laudatory: 'The best men of action, combining the soldier and patriot—such as Timoleon and Philopœmen—set before them Epaminondas as their model. With him the dignity of Thebes both began and ended.'—*Gr. Gr.*

[Xenophon's Greek History terminates at this point.]

General Pacification, in which the Messenians are included. B.C. 361.

Death of Agesilaus in Egypt at the age of eighty.

'The ablest and most energetic of the Spartan kings: yet we may say of him with respect to his country—*Marmoream invenit, latericium reliquit.*'

### *DECLINE OF THE THEBAN SUPREMACY.*

. Era of Plato, the founder of the Academic School.

### *General Corruption of Morals, and Decline of Greece.*

Accession to the throne of Philip of Macedon, B.C. 359: at variance with the Athenians about Amphipolis (which they were besieging), and which he declares a Free State.

Death of Chabrias, B.C. 358.

*Social War* of the Confederates against Athens, B.C. 357—355, commenced by Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium: Athens is compelled to acknowledge the independence of her allies.

### *First Sacred, or Phocian War, B.C. 356—346.*

'At the very time when the growing power of Macedonia under Philip ought to have united all the Grecian states, had such a union been within the range of possibility, Greece plunged into another civil war of ten years' duration, which is known by the name of the sacred

or Phocian war. The Amphictyonic assembly, whose duty it was to maintain peace, and whose influence had been in the present circumstances reinstated, abused its authority by kindling discord. The hatred of the Thebans, who sought for new opportunities of quarrel with Sparta, and the ambition of the Phocian Philomelus, were the real causes which led to the war, which the policy of Philip knew how to prolong till the precise moment favourable to his own particular views arrived. The treasures of Delphi circulating in Greece were as injurious to the country as the ravages which it underwent. A war springing out of private passions, fostered by bribes and subsidiary troops, and terminated by the interference of foreign powers, was exactly what was requisite for annihilating the scanty remains of morality and patriotism still existing in Greece.'—*H. H. R.*

The Phocians seize Delphi: they plunder the temple of 20,000 talents of gold and silver, which they apply to the payment of hired troops. They are at last conquered by Philip; their generals Philomelus and Onomarchus are slain, and all their cities, except Abæ, destroyed.

### **Rise of the Macedonian Supremacy.**

Philip of Macedon successful everywhere: wrests Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidæa, and Olynthus, from the Athenians: humbles the Spartans by landing in Laconia, and compelling them to relinquish their intention of recognising Messenia: invades Thrace, and blockades Byzantium and Perinthus, which are saved by the arrival of the Athenian fleet under Phocion: his designs against the liberties of Greece are furthered by the orator Æschines, whom he had bribed.

### **DEMOSTHENES AT ATHENS:**

**This First Philippic, B.C. 352.**

**Second Philippic, B.C. 344.**

[In this same year, B.C. 344, Timoleon expels the Tyrant Dionysius from Syracuse.]

### **SECOND SACRED OR LOCRIAN WAR, B.C. 339.**

Philip is elected General of the Amphictyons: occupies Elatea: shows great moderation in return for the insolent defiance of the Athenians: alliance against him of Thebes



and Athens, brought about by Demosthenes: mercenary force collected from the other allies: the confederate army of 50,000 men, commanded by Chares and Lysicles, defeated **at the Battle of Chæronea, B.C. 338**, by Philip, assisted by his son, Alexander.

‘Thenceforward, the grand object of Philip seems to have been the subjugation of the Persian empire. With this view, he not only increased the efficiency of the army by the introduction of the Macedonian phalanx—the terrific power of which consisted in its close ranks, the heavy armour of the men, and their long spears—but also endeavoured to make himself master of the coasts of Thrace (that they might serve as means of communication with the countries which he intended to conquer), and to acquire over the Grecian states a Hegemony, which should place their forces at his disposal.’—*P.*

**The Independence of Greece extinguished: Philip is elected Generalissimo of Greece against Persia.**

Philip assassinated by Pausanias at *Ægæ*. Succession of

#### **ALEXANDER THE GREAT, B.C. 336.**

His campaign against the Thracians, Triballi, Getæ, and Illyrians.

Revolt and destruction of Thebes, B.C. 335, with the exception of the Cadmea and the house of Pindar.

Era of Aristotle.

#### **IMMENSE EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT, B.C. 334—323.**

‘The reign of Alexander the Great, in the eyes of the historical inquirer, derives its great interest, not only from the extent, but from the permanence of the revolution which he effected in the world. To appreciate properly the character of this prince, who died just as he was about to carry his mighty projects into execution, is no easy task; but it is totally repugnant to common sense to suppose that the pupil of Aristotle was nothing more than a wild and reckless conqueror, unguided by any plan.’—*Ency. Metr.*

Alexander crosses the Hellespont with 30,000 infantry and 5000 cavalry; defeats the satraps of Darius Codômanus, and the Greek mercenaries under Memnon, at the **BATTLE OF THE GRANICUS. B.C. 334.**

'The death of Memnon, which soon after followed, was perhaps a greater advantage than a victory.'

'The history of Alexander forms an important epoch in the history of mankind. Unlike other Asiatic conquerors, his progress was marked by something more than devastation and ruin; at every step of his course the Greek language and civilization took root and flourished; and after his death Greek kingdoms were formed in all parts of Asia, which continued to exist for centuries. By his conquests the knowledge of mankind was increased; the sciences of geography, natural history, and others, received vast additions; and it was through him that a road was opened to India, and that Europeans became acquainted with the products of the remote East.'—S. D. B.

Subdues the Western and Southern provinces of Asia Minor.

Defeats Darius at THE BATTLE OF ISSUS, B.C. 333.

Conquers Syria, Phœnicia, and Cyprus; takes Tyre and Gaza; marches into Egypt, which submits to him; founds Alexandria, and visits the Temple of Jupiter Ammon. B.C. 332.

Visits Jerusalem.

'The story of the behaviour of Alexander to the Jewish high priest, Jaddua, recorded by Josephus, is very doubtful.'—L.

Crosses the Euphrates, and defeats Darius at THE BATTLE OF ARBELA. B.C. 331.

[Agis is defeated and slain by Antipater, who was left Regent in Macedonia. Pacification of Greece by Antipater. B.C. 330.]

Alexander takes possession of Babylonia, Persia, and Media. Murder of Darius by Bessus. Execution of Philotas and Parmenio for treason. Conquest of Hyrcania, Aria, Drangiana, and Arachosia. B.C. 330.

[Oration of Demosthenes on the Crown, B.C. 330.]

Alexander conquers Bactria, crosses the Oxus and the Jaxartes, and defeats the Scythians. B.C. 329.

Conquers Sogdiana: death of Cleitus. B.C. 328.

Marries Roxana, a Bactrian princess. Campaigns in North and Western India, B.C. 327 and 326, in which he

crosses the Indus, Hydaspes, Acesines, and Hydraotes : defeats Porus, but is compelled by the discontent of his troops to turn back after reaching the Hyphasis. B.C. 327.

Alexander sails down the Hyphasis and the Indus to the Ocean, and then returns by land through Gedrosia, Carmania, Persia, and Susa, to Babylon, and marries Barsine, the eldest daughter of the deceased Darius. B.C. 326—324.

'After the abandonment of India, the whole circuit of Alexander's conquests was precisely that of the former Persian empire; his later projects were probably directed against Arabia alone. However easy it had been to make these conquests, it was a more difficult task to retain them; for Macedonia, exhausted by continual levies of men, could not furnish efficient garrisons. Alexander removed this difficulty by protecting the conquered from oppression; by showing proper respect to their religion; by leaving the civil government in the hands of the native rulers who had hitherto possessed it; and by confiding to Macedonians the command only of the garrisons left in the chief places, and in the newly established colonies. To alter as little as possible in the internal organization of countries was his fundamental principle.

'Simple as Alexander's plans were in the outset, their simplicity was more than compensated by the magnitude and importance of their results. Babylon was to be the capital of his empire, and consequently of the world. The union of the east and the west was to be brought about by the amalgamation of the dominant races by intermarriage, by education, and, more than all, by the ties of commerce, the importance of which much ruder conquerors, in Asia itself, soon learnt to appreciate. In nothing, probably, is the superiority of his genius more brilliantly displayed, than in his exemption from all national prejudice, particularly when we consider that none of his countrymen were in this respect to be compared with him. To refuse him this merit is impossible, whatever judgment we may form of his general character.'—H. H. R.

*Death of Alexander at Babylon*, by a fever, probably brought on by exposure and fatigue, after a reign of twelve years and eight months. B.C. 323.

'Under the peculiar circumstances of the time, the greatest loss mankind could experience.'—H. H. R.

'Livy is very eloquent in his attempt to prove, that if Alexander had invaded Italy he would have been assuredly defeated and vanquished by the Romans. But partiality must either have blinded his judgment, or induced him to suppress his honest convictions. It required more *than ordinary hardihood* to assert the superiority of Papirius Cursor over *the conqueror of the East*. Had Alexander entered Italy, it would *have been at the head of an irresistible force by land and sea*. The *Greeks, Lucanians, and Samnites*, would have hailed him as a deliverer.

## PARTITION OF PERSICO-MACEDONIAN EMPIRE. 88

and their bravest warriors would have fought under his banners. The Samnites alone, three years after Alexander's death, were strong enough to gain the famous victory at the defile of Caudium; and the Lucans were successfully struggling against the despotism of Rome. Alexander had found eight hundred thousand talents in the different treasuries of the empire. His resources, therefore, were inexhaustible; and these, applied with the extraordinary activity and perseverance which characterized all his operations, would not have left the Romans the hope of finally saving themselves. If, in later years, Pyrrhus, the ready prince of the small kingdom of Epirus, with his confined means, took Rome to her foundations, it is idle to suppose that, in a far feeble state, she could for a moment have withstood the whirlwind shock of Alexander's chivalry.

He did not trust for victory to the activity of the phalanx, but maintained it as a tower of strength—as a fortress in reserve—round which the broken part of his forces might always rally. For attack he trusted to his cavalry, mixed with infantry—to his mounted archers and dartmen—to his bowmen—and especially to his Agrians, a species of light-armed regular infantry. If with these he made an impression upon the enemy's thronged ranks, broke their lines, or confounded their order, he then brought up the phalanx, with its serried front of iron dikes, and swept them off the field. The Romans would probably have fought bravely, but they had neither the skill nor strength to contend with Alexander. In his days their arms and discipline were very efficient; nor was their resolution, as proved by the surrender at Caudium, of that stern cast which knows no alternative between death and victory.

Although they may, in the history of the world, be regarded as the political heirs of Alexander, yet a long period elapsed before they entered on their inheritance. They never took possession of the extensive empire between the Euphrates, the Indus, and the Jaxartes; and he Macedonian had been dead for nearly three hundred years before the kingdom of the son of Lagos was added to the dominion of Rome.'—*W. L. of A.*

### *DISMEMBERMENT OF THE PERSICO-MACEDONIAN EMPIRE, AND DIVISION OF ITS PROVINCES AMONG THE PRINCIPAL GENERALS OF ALEXANDER'S ARMY.*

The first partition of the Empire was made in B.C. 322; but *Twenty-two Years* of war passed between the contending parties, headed by Perdikkas, Ptolemy, Eumenes, Antigonus and his son Demetrius Poliorcetes, Cassander, Lysimachus, and Seleucus, before peace is restored.

From this time new views and new interests occupy the theatre of politics and of war in Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. The *ambassadors* of the Roman generals and proconsuls supersede henceforward

## 84 LAMIAN WAR AND GREAT BATTLE OF IPSUS.

the fortunes of Macedon, and the genius of Athens and Lacedæmon. The descendants of Æacus give place to the sons of Flaminus and Crassus, and Æmilius; and the glory of the legion is destined to eclipse the proud splendour of the phalanx. Even the fame of Alexander himself is equalled almost by the renown of Cæsar, as a skilful warrior and an expert politician; and the wide range of territory which was won by the Macedonian hero is surpassed by that which acknowledged the sway of the imperial eagle.'—*Ency. Metr.*

In Greece, the *Lamian War* (B.C. 323, 322) of the Greek states against Macedon.

'The Lamian war—the sparks of which had been kindled by Alexander's edict, granting leave to all the Grecian emigrants, twenty thousand in number, nearly the whole of whom were in the Macedonian interest, to return to their native countries—was fanned to a flame by the democratic party at Athens. Urged by Demosthenes and Hyperides, almost all the states of central and northern Greece, Boeotia excepted, took up arms in the cause; and their example was quickly followed by most of those in Peloponnesus, with the exception of Sparta, Argos, Corinth, and the Achæans. Not even the Persian war produced such general unanimity.'—*H. H. R.*

Death of Leosthenes, the Athenian general, before Lamia, after defeating Antipater. Phocion at the head of affairs in Athens. Defeat of the allies at the Battle of Crannon. Athens is compelled to surrender to the Macedonians and Cassander, who places Demetrius Phalereus in it as governor. End of the Lamian War: suicide of Demosthenes, B.C. 332. Phocion, 'the last great man of Greece,' is murdered by the Athenians, B.C. 318.

Liberation of Athens by Demetrius Poliorcetes: he restores Democracy, and expels Demetrius Phalereus. B.C. 307.

In Phrygia, at the great BATTLE OF IPSUS, Antigonus and his son Demetrius are totally defeated by the confederacy of Cassander, Lysimachus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus. B.C. 301.

This great struggle terminated in the following distribution of the Provinces of Alexander's Empire:

<b>Cassander</b> in possession of Greece and <i>Macedon.</i>	<b>Ptolemy,</b> of Egypt, Cælo-Syria, and Palestine.	<b>Lysimachus,</b> of nearly the whole of <i>Asia Minor.</i>	<b>Seleucus,</b> of Upper Asia.
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Demetrius recovers Cilicia, returns to Greece, and takes Athens (B.C. 295), becomes King of Macedon; makes war on the Ætolians, the Thebans, and Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, B.C. 300—287.

Irruption of the Gauls into Greece, under Brennus; is repulsed, B.C. 280, and Brennus killed. A part of the Gauls cross into Asia Minor, and settle in Galatia.

The **Ætolian League** formed B.C. 284, and the ancient **Achæan League** revived B.C. 280, in consequence of the oppression of the Macedonian kings. The object of these confederacies was the restoration and maintenance of Grecian independence.

‘The kings of the new Macedonian empire, being fully aware that any attempt to recover Asia would be fruitless, contented themselves with endeavouring to render Greece (which as yet was but loosely connected with Macedonia) a province of that country. Notwithstanding, however, the pertinacity with which they kept this object in view, their plans were continually rendered abortive even when they seemed on the eve of being accomplished, partly by repeated disputes respecting the succession to the throne, partly by quarrels with the barbarians of the north, especially the Gauls, and at a later period by the invasion of the Romans. Another obstacle to the complete subjugation of Greece existed in the mutual jealousies of those who were at the head of the three greater monarchies, and in the formation of the Ætolian, and revival of the Achæan confederacy. Thessaly alone remained a Macedonian province, most of the other states being merely allies of Macedonia, and bearing each a different relation to the king, as the head of the Græco-Macedonian Symmarchy.’—P.

Pyrrhus invades Italy, B.C. 280.

The Four Great Schools of Philosophy flourish about this time.

1. The Peripatetic, presided over by Strato.	2. The Stoic, presided over by Zeno.	3. The Epicurean, presided over by Epicurus.	4. The Academic, presided over by Arcesilaus.
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‘Far more important are those philosophers who grew up in the school of Plato; the Academics, headed by Speusippus, Plato’s nephew, and Xenocrates, the Chalcedonian; and the Peripatetics (walkers), the followers of Aristotle, who was born at Stageirus, a Grecian city in Thrace.

‘The former were named from the hall and grove of Academus, where

Plato, and after him Spensippus, usually discoursed: the latter, from Aristotle's manner of delivering his instructions while walking in the gardens of the Lycæum.

'The doctrines of both were nearly the same, for though Aristotle often opposes his master, Plato, it is commonly in points to which the Academics held but lightly, or which they entirely gave up. But the different character of the teachers variously affected their followers.

'Among many eminent names, the Academy had none which could rival those of Socrates and Plato; the first of whom was wont to say, that when the oracle styled him the wisest of men, it was because he knew that he knew nothing, while others thought that they knew much. These words have been interpreted by many as directing them to acquiesce in universal scepticism: but it is plain, from the general tenour of his discourses, that Socrates rather meant to produce in his disciples a patient search for truth, a due distrust in themselves, and a willingness to amend their most favourite conclusions, should subsequent inquiry prove it needful. However understood, the declaration betokens, both in the speaker and in the approving reporter, a disposition very different from that of Aristotle, whose vast and varied erudition and wonderful subtlety and acuteness, were joined with a somewhat dogmatical temper, and a strong desire to give to his treatment of every subject an air of scientific completeness. Hence it comes, that while the individual reputation of Aristotle was almost unrivalled, his school was comparatively barren of eminent men; whereas most of the greatest Grecian philosophers in after times are found in the Academy and its many off-sets. For among the followers of Aristotle, improvement has ever been trammelled by the opinion that they had in his works a perfect system of human knowledge; this made them consent to explain and enforce his conclusions, without pursuing them farther, or inquiring into their evidence; and sometimes rendered them loth to examine a questionable position of their master, lest by loosening a single stone of the connecting fabric, they should disjoint and weaken the whole.'—*U. K. S.*

Pyrrhus besieges Sparta and Argos, and is killed, B.C. 272. Antigonus Gonatas, whom Pyrrhus had expelled, regains Macedonia: he takes Athens, B.C. 268.

Aratus, general of the Achæan League, delivers Athens, B.C. 256, which joins the Achæan League—an example shortly after followed by Sicyon.

*First attempt at reform in Sparta by King Agis IV.*, B.C. 244: he endeavours to restore the constitution of Lycurgus, by an agrarian law, by repressing the power of the Ephori, and increasing that of the Kings. This attempt is at first partially successful, but is eventually frustrated by Leonidas, the other king, and Agis is cut off with his whole family. B.C. 241.

Aratus brings over Corinth, Megara, Trœzene, and Epidaurus to the Achæan League.

Cleomenes III. forcibly effects *a revolution at Sparta*, overthrowing the Ephori, increasing the number of the Spartans by admitting a number of the Pericœci, and enforcing the laws of Lycurgus, B.C. 226.

Cleomenes attacks the Achæans, who, under Aratus, and aided by Antigonos Doson, King of Macedonia, defeat him at **THE BATTLE OF SELLASIA**, B.C. 222. Antigonos gains possession of Sparta. Cleomenes flies to Egypt. Extinction of the royal line of the Heraclidæ at Sparta.

*War of the Two Leagues*, B.C. 220—217. Philip V., King of Macedon, assists the Achæans : Philip, after several successes, dictates peace, and removes Aratus by poison.

The Athenians join the Ætolians against Macedon, and *solicit the aid of Rome*. Philip enters into a treaty with Hannibal, B.C. 215.

*Philopœmen* succeeds Aratus as chief of the Achæan League.

**First Macedonian War of Philip against Rome**, B.C. 214—204.

Alliance formed by Rome with the Ætolians, Sparta, and Elis. Philip is joined by the Achæans, Acarnanians, and Bœotians. The Romans defeat Philip at Apollonia, and take Ægina. Philopœmen overthrows and kills Machanidas, King of Sparta, at the Battle of Mantinea. Rome abandons the Ætolians, who conclude a treaty with Philip ; afterwards converted into a general peace.

‘The whole policy of the Romans during this war was to create a diversion, by which they hoped to find sufficient employment for Philip at home, and thus prevent his passing over into Italy.’—*P.*

The quarrels between the Kings and the Ephori in Sparta end in the usurpation of Nabis, B.C. 207.

**Second Macedonian War of Philip against Rome**, B.C. 200—197.



## 88 DECLINE OF THE MACEDONIAN MONARCHY.

The allies of Rome were the Ætolians, Athenians, Dardanians, and other tribes, and afterwards the Achæans.

‘The war with Rome suddenly hurled the Macedonian power from its lofty pitch, and by laying the foundation of Roman dominion in the East, brought a change in almost all the political relations in that quarter. The first two years of the war showed pretty evidently that mere force could scarcely overturn the Macedonian throne. But T. Quinctius Flaminius stepped forward: with the magic spell of freedom he intoxicated the Greeks; Philip was stripped of his allies, and the battle of Cynocephalæ decided everything.’—*H. H. R.*

**Total defeat of Philip by T. Q. Flaminius, at the Battle of Cynocephalæ, in Thessaly, B.C. 197.**

*Greece is declared free from the Macedonian power by Flaminius at the Isthmian Games, B.C. 196.*

‘Immediately after the conclusion of this treaty, followed the memorable scene at the Isthmian games, where it was announced to all the multitude assembled on that occasion, that the Romans bestowed entire freedom upon all those states of Greece which had been subject to the kings of Macedon. The Greeks, unable to read the future, and having as yet had no experience of the ambition of Rome, received this act with the warmest gratitude, and seemed to acknowledge the Romans in the character which they assumed, of protectors and deliverers of Greece.’—*A.*

‘Soon after, the freedom of Greece was solemnly proclaimed at the Isthmian games by Flaminius: but loud as the Greeks were in their exultations, this measure served merely to transfer the supremacy of their country from Macedonia to Rome: and Grecian history, as well as the Macedonian, is now interwoven with that of the Romans. To foster quarrels between the Greek states, with the especial view of hindering the Achæans from growing too formidable, now became a fundamental principle at Rome: and Roman and anti-Roman parties having quickly arisen in every city, this political game was easily played.’—*Enc. Metr.*

Philopœmen defeats Nabis, B.C. 192, and afterwards takes Sparta, and finally abrogates the laws of Lycurgus, B.C. 188.

Revolt of the Messenians from the Achæan League: they capture and poison Philopœmen, B.C. 182.

‘The great Philopœmen, worthy of a better age.’—*H. H. R.*

[Polybius, the historian, carried the urn at the funeral of Philopœmen.—*T. S. D. B.*]

**DECLINE OF THE ACHÆAN LEAGUE.** The Romans effect the dissolution of the Bœotian confederacy,

B.C. 172. The Ætolians and Acarnanians work their own destruction by domestic factions.

**Third Macedonian War, between the Romans and Perseus** (son of Philip), King of Macedonia, B.C. 171—168.

After three indecisive campaigns, Perseus is entirely defeated by L. Æmilius Paullus at the *Battle of Pydna*, B.C. 168. Perseus, afterwards taken prisoner, dies miserably at Rome.

'L. Æmilius Paullus made a cruel use of his victory, if we may judge from our own feelings of humanity. The Romans took up their quarters among the Molossians, and here scenes took place like those in Scotland in the massacre of Glencoe, though not with so much cunning; but in both cases a massacre took place in the midst of a population which believed itself to be in perfect safety. The inhabitants were first commanded, under penalty of death, to deliver up all their gold and silver, and immediately after, the soldiers fell upon the devoted people. 150,000 men are said to have been sold as slaves, or put to death. After such a cruelty, which was perpetrated at the command of L. Æmilius Paullus, he cannot possibly be reckoned among the number of great and virtuous Romans. This mode of acting would have been cruel enough, even in the course of a war; and I cannot see the reason why many persons call Æmilius Paullus a mild and humane man.'—N. L.

**THE MACEDONIAN KINGDOM IS DISSOLVED,** and the country divided into four districts by the Romans.

Gradual downfall of the Achæan League; 1000 of the principal Achæans, among them Polybius, are sent to Rome on a false charge of attachment to the cause of Perseus. Epirus is most cruelly ravaged by the Romans, and seventy towns are destroyed and sacked with the most inhuman cruelty. B.C. 167.

'Let it be for ever remembered, that by a decree of the senate seventy towns of Epirus were given up to be plundered by the Roman army, after all hostilities were at an end; that falsehood and deceit were used to prevent resistance or escape; and that in one day and one hour seventy towns were sacked and destroyed, and one hundred and fifty thousand human beings sold for slaves. The instrument employed on this occasion was L. Æmilius Paullus, the conqueror of Macedon, and one of those whom we are taught to regard as models of Roman virtue.'—A.

Quarrels between the Spartans and the Achæan League: the Romans interfere, for the purpose of destroying the

## 90 MACEDONIA AND GREECE SUBJECT TO ROME.

League, B.C. 150—146. The Achæans, under Critolaus, are routed by Metellus at the Battle of Scarphea.

**Fourth Macedonian War**, between the Romans and Andriscus, generally called Pseudo-Philip, who is defeated by Metellus, B.C. 149, 148.

MACEDONIA IS MADE A ROMAN PROVINCE, B.C. 147.

The War between the Achæans and Rome is ended by the *Battle of Leucopetra*, and the DESTRUCTION AND SACK OF CORINTH by Mummius, B.C. 146.

'The new commander finished the war in a single battle, under the walls of Corinth. Dixius, the Achæan general, fled to Megalopolis, and there destroyed himself by poison; the Corinthians, for the most part, abandoned their city, and Mummius entered it with little or no resistance. But every horror that follows the most hardly-won capture of a town by storm, was practised with deliberate cruelty. Most of the citizens were slain; the women and children were sold for slaves; the temples and private buildings were alike ransacked; and Corinth, finally, was burnt to the ground. The Achæan league was then dissolved, and Greece was henceforward treated as a province, was subjected to tribute, and governed by a Roman pro-consul, or prætor.'—*N. L.*

## GREECE BECOMES A ROMAN PROVINCE UNDER THE TITLE OF ACHÆA, B.C. 146.

'The victory of Metellus at Scarphea, and that of Mummius at Leucopetra, together with the capture and destruction of Corinth, reduced Achaia, with all that had once belonged to the league, to the condition of a Roman province. Ten commissaries were despatched to regulate its internal affairs, the governments of the several cities were organized on a democratic basis, and a prætor appointed over the whole, whose jurisdiction was to extend to the frontiers of Macedonia. The several confederacies were dissolved at first, but continued subsequently to exist in subjection to the paramount authority of Rome. The cities of Athens, Delphi, Thespiae, and Tanagra alone remained free, to which may be added, after the reign of Augustus, Nicopolis and the district of Laconia. Amphissa and the Locri Ozolæ enjoyed immunity; at Corinth, Platææ, Dyme, and Megara, Roman colonies were subsequently planted. At the division of the provinces under Augustus, Achaia fell to the share of the senate, but in the early part of the reign of Tiberius, it became an imperial province, and continued so until Claudius again substituted a pro-consul for the Legatus Augusti. Nero's fantastic idea of once more proclaiming the freedom of Greece at the Isthmian games produced such melancholy consequences, that Vespasian recalled the ill-timed gift. Hadrian conferred more substantial benefits on the home of the arts and sciences, but the sunshine of his favour gleamed only on ruins; no Panhellenic festival could revive that na-

tional spirit which now existed only in the mouths of learned men and orators. The civil contests of the Greeks among themselves, and still more, the wars which the Romans had waged on their soil, had made the land a wilderness: for whole days' journeys the country lay depopulated, or was a mere haunt of robber-bands. Three thousand fighting men were the utmost all Greece could furnish. No wonder, then, that Athens was indebted solely to the natural advantages of its position for the repulse the Goths experienced there on their irruption into Greece, A.D. 265; one hundred and thirty years later the treachery and cowardice of its Byzantine masters laid it entirely open to the desolating fury of Alaric, and left the proconsul of the East nothing to rule over but the ruins of departed grandeur.—H. P. A.

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[The outline of the subsequent history of Greece is as follows:

The Goths overran and devastated Greece, A.D. 267.

Greece became part of the Eastern Empire, A.D. 395.

Alaric plundered the country, and burnt Athens, A.D. 398, but was repulsed by Stilicho.

Greece is occupied by the Crusaders and Venetians, about A.D. 1202; but fell finally into the power of the Turks after the taking of Constantinople, A.D. 1453.

The Venetians reconquered the Morea and Ægina about A.D. 1650, but they again became subject to the Porte, to which power they were guaranteed by the treaty of Passarowitz, A.D. 1728.

Greek Revolutionary War, A.D. 1821: Battle of Navarino, A.D. 1827.

Independence of Greece acknowledged by the Turks, September 29th, 1829.]

## APPENDIX.

### I.

#### *Sources of Information on Greek History.*

'THEIR historical writers, strictly so called, were preceded by the *Cyclic Poets*, who used to repeat in a continuous form the various legendary ballads (κύκλους), and the *Logographi*, who first related the legends in prose (λόγους). Such were Hecataeus, Charon, Hellanicus, and others, of whose works only detached fragments have reached us.

#### THE HISTORIANS.

'I. *Herodotus* (pater historiarum), born at Halicarnassus, B.C. 484. He wrote, after his great journey (through Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, Asia, Egypt, and Libya), a history of the Persian wars to the retreat of the Persians from Europe—with episodes concerning the early history of that people, and the nations who came into contact with them—in nine books, which he revised and completed at Thurii. He is said to have read his work in public at the Olympic games.—II. *Thucydides*, born at Athens, B.C. 474, a commander in the Peloponnesian war—superseded in his command. In his place of banishment on the Thracian Chersonesus, he collected materials for his history (ἐν γράφῃ, in eight books) of the Peloponnesian war, reaching to the year 411.—III. *Xenophon*, born at Athens in 443 (?), a disciple of Socrates, banished from Athens for Laconism; he wrote, 1. Ἑλληνικά, a continuation of the history of Thucydides to the battle of Mantinea; 2. Ἀνάβασις (seven books); 3. Κύρου παιδεία (eight books); 4. λόγος εἰς Ἀγησίλαον.—IV. *Polybius* of Megalopolis (205—181), author of a practical universal history, from the commencement of the second Punic war to the conquest of Macedonia by the Romans.—V. *Diodorus Siculus*, in the reign of Augustus, wrote a βιβλιοθήκη ἱστορική (in forty books).—VI. *Plutarch*, born A.D. 50, at Chaeronea; he wrote forty-four βίοι παραλληλοί, and five separate biographies.\*

#### GEOGRAPHERS.

'I. *Strabo* (in the first century of the Christian era), in book 8—10 of his γεωγραφικά.—II. *Pausanias* (born at Rome in the second century), in his description of Greece (Ἑλλάδος περιήγησις, in ten books).—

\* To these add *Arrian*, about A.D. 140; wrote the *Anabasis* of *Alexander the Great*, in seven books.

III. *Claudius Ptolemaeus* (an Egyptian who flourished in the second century) wrote *γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις* (in eight books).

'The chronicle of the *Parian Marbles* is a tablet discovered in the island of Paros, and now preserved at Oxford, containing a chronological list of the principal events in the history of Greece; and particularly of Athens.

'Of Latin historians who have written upon Grecian history, we have Cornelius Nepos (or the lives that go under his name) and Justin. Besides the historians, we have, for the first mythical period, the library of Apollodorus; for the third, the orations of Isocrates, Æschines, and Demosthenes; and for constitutional history, the *Politics* of Aristotle.'—P.

## II.

### *The Athenian Revenue.*

'1. THE tribute paid by the confederates (*φόροι*) increased by Pericles from four hundred and sixty to six hundred talents. 2. Income from the customs (which were farmed), and from the mines at Laurium. 3. The caution-money of the non-citizens (*μέτοικοι*). 4. The taxes on the citizens (*εὐσφόροι*), which fell almost entirely on the rich, more particularly on the first class, the members of which were not only to bear the burden of fitting out the fleet (*τριεραρχίας*), but were likewise to furnish means for the public festivals and spectacles (*χορηγίας*). The whole income of the republic at this time was estimated at 2000 talents. But the disbursements made to the numerous assistants at the courts of justice, (the principal means of existence with the poorer citizens, and which more than anything else contributed to the licentiousness of the democracy and the oppression of the confederates, whose causes were all brought to Athens for adjudication,) together with the expenditure for festivals and spectacles, even at this time, absorbed the greatest part of the revenue.'—H. H. R.

[See also particularly, Aristophanes, *Vespa*, 655—663.]

## III.

### *Marathon.*

'THE first great turning point in the rise of the Athenian people is the day of Marathon. Nothing ever yet said of that day has exaggerated its immense importance to Greece and to the world. Thermopylae, Salamis, and Plataea, were all contained in it as necessary consequences, with the rise of Grecian culture and civilization, and the conquests of Alexander, and all else which distinguishes the European from the Asiatic intellect. But perhaps we hardly reflect sufficiently on its intimate connexion with the history of the Athenian people in particular. It was the peculiar spirit of free citizenship, now just sufficiently developed at Athens to meet this great emergency, which alone gained the victory. It was this victory which at once gave Athens a place amongst

the states of Greece by the side of the time-honoured kingdoms of Argos and Sparta—a place which she had never had before, and which she never afterwards lost. Let us, then, present the event itself before our mind as vividly as these its latest elucidations permit. It is indeed worthy to stand at the threshold of Grecian and Athenian history, for this, if for no other reason, that it illustrates so forcibly the narrow limits both of time and space into which, as is often remarked, sometimes in ridicule, sometimes in praise, the great movements of that history are compressed. The little plain, six miles long and two miles broad, has been truly described by Byron as being in its external features, next to Waterloo, the most expressive of battle-fields; and those features are given in two lines of the same poet, never so great as in his delineations of Greece:—

The mountains look on Marathon  
And Marathon looks on the sea.

The 'mountains,' which do indeed embrace it like a sacred enclosure, are the rugged arms of Pentelicus, which divide it from the great plain of Athens so effectually that the pass between them necessarily was to Attica what Thermopylæ was at a later time to Greece itself—the key of the whole country. The shore of that bright sea, which lies like a silver strip between the mainland and the bold hills of the opposite island of Eubœa, bounds the plain on the east, and is the only level tract in all that rock-bound coast where an invading eastern army could effect a landing. Thither, therefore, of necessity, the fleet of Persia had turned its course, and there lay encamped all along the tideless sand the six-and-forty nations which, in their various costumes, had come at the great king's command from the shores of Indus and the roots of Caucasus; with the cavalry of Nisa, the wonder of the world, who were to deploy in that level plain with that security of success which their position naturally suggested. And opposite this great host, on the green slope of their native hill, and within the shade of the trees that surrounded the precincts of the guardian hero of the spot, was ensconced the scanty band of the 10,000 Athenian citizens, who were there to die, if need be, for their city and their race, with the 1000 faithful and devoted friends from the little town of Plataea. What were the feelings of these two armies on the eve of battle? From the vast armament on the beach no word has come down to us, nor can we, perhaps, represent to ourselves a state of mind so unlike our own, unless it be by the perusal of the speeches in which the envoys of the host of Sennacherib insulted Hezekiah:—'Behold, thou hast heard what the kings of Assyria have done to all lands by destroying them utterly: and shalt thou be delivered?' One man, indeed, there was in the Persian camp, who might have been expected, like Demaratus, in the expedition of Xerxes, to have checked this confident exultation. That man was the aged Hippias, last of the sons of Pisistratus. But Greek as he was, he remembered Athens only in the time of her servitude—he knew not what a spirit had been awakened within her walls since he and his family had been cast forth; and now, when in declining years, though still retaining the energies of youth amidst the decrepitude of age, he led the Persian fleet to the same spot where, nearly fifty years before, he had landed with his father to recover their lost power, he probably thought he should find the way as open, and the conquest as easy, as

when at that time he surprised the careless populace playing away their time in the rest and listless amusements of a Grecian noon. A glance at the interior of the little camp nestled under the crags of Pentellicus would have undeceived him at once. There was, indeed, fear and anxiety depicted on every countenance—fear of traitors in the city behind, fear of the unknown, mysterious myriads in front. But a common spirit of devotion pervaded the whole, and the whole was swayed by three master-spirits, whose presence on that day of itself indicated the change which had passed over the Athenian people since Hippias fled from the Acropolis. Miltiades, the soul and head of the army, belonged indeed to the older generation; he had himself reigned as a sovereign prince over his own dependencies, and his whole appearance and manner, no less than his romantic life, accorded with the high lineage which connected him with the gods and heroes of traditional faith. But this ancient noble did not now consider it beneath him to stand forth as the champion of a kingless city, or to be associated in command with the upstart statesman whom the revolution of Clisthenes had for the first time invested with importance. For there with him, aiding his wise counsels, and doubtless communicating his enthusiasm to the mass of common citizens with whom they were united by blood and station, were the two young leaders of the rising generation, Aristides and Themistocles. Nor can any account of Marathon overlook another soldier in the camp, of lower rank, but of even more illustrious race, whose sympathies would have been rather with the older than the new state of things—the poet *Æschylus*, who was there with his brother to take part in a scene so eminently calculated to awaken all his loftiest powers and deepest feelings.

‘It was in the heat of a September day that the engagement finally commenced. One fortnight had sufficed for the gathering of the army, for the deliberations of the generals, for the message conveyed in vain to and from Sparta to demand assistance; every day, every hour, was now of importance, lest some treason at home should render even a victory unavailing. That pressure of time, as it had decided the well-known deliberations before the battle, gave its character also to the battle itself. The day, it would seem, had already begun to wear away before the Grecian sacrifices allowed Miltiades to give the word for the charge for which he had been so anxiously waiting—before the stillness which always preceded an onset was broken by the loud war-cry, announcing to the Persian army that the battle was begun. In an instant they saw, not the usual preliminary shower of darts and arrows, but the sight, hitherto unexampled in Grecian warfare, of the Athenian forces running at full speed down the declivity on which they had been arrayed, and charging at once the two wings and centre of the enormous host. It was but a mile that parted them; and before the Persian ranks had recovered from their amazement at what seemed to them literally a paroxysm of frenzy, their wings were routed by the onslaught. Two scenes, however, of desperate combat were exhibited in those long hours which intervened between the first charge and the final victory. One was the great struggle in the centre, where the Athenians, breathless with the speed of their descent, and awe-struck for the moment, perhaps, when they found themselves in conflict with the flower of the Persian host, which surrounded when present the throne of the great



king himself, were not only repulsed, but even, it would seem, driven up into the hills behind by the pursuers, till they were rejoined, and ultimately delivered, by their victorious comrades, who, with true Grecian self-control, had checked themselves in the full flush of their almost miraculous success. The second and final contest was on the level beach, where the Athenians rushed forwards to fire the ships, in a furious combat, which to the warrior-poet who was present must indeed 'have emphatically recalled the fifteenth book of the *Iliad*.' There fell his own brother, and there also the commander-in-chief, Callimachus, and there again the Greeks were ultimately repulsed, and the Persians embarked in safety.

'It is necessary to remember how nearly the victory was a drawn battle, in order to understand how its chief importance lay, first, in its great moral effect, and, secondly, in the removal of the immediate danger to Athens, not only from foreign invaders, but from domestic treason. Hardly had the Persians and Athenians separated from their last conflict on the beach, than the attention of both was at once arrested by a flash of light on the summit of Mount Pentelicus, now glowing with that roseate hue peculiar to its pyramidal peak in the illumination of an Athenian evening. It was the reflection of the setting sun on the glittering surface of an uplifted shield. The quick observation of the Athenian leader at once saw in this apparition a signal from the partisans of Persia in Athens, to invite the fleet to join them there before the army of Marathon had returned. Not a moment was to be lost; with the same celerity which had been displayed in the movement of the battle itself, he ordered an instant return to the city.

'Before daylight had disappeared, they had left the sanctuary of Hercules at Marathon, and that same night, under the light of the full autumnal moon, they reached the city, and encamped within the Athenian precincts of the same guardian hero, on the height which overlooked the Sacred Rock, now delivered from destruction.

. . . . .

'Aristides alone remained with his own tribe on the fatal plain, to bury the dead, and guard the prisoners and the spoil.

'Greater, however, than any outward monument or celebration was the enduring effect left on the Grecian mind. An Athenian army had looked in the face of the hosts of the great king and lived. The charm of the Persian name was broken. The turban, the caftan, the trouser, the flowing tresses, before so terrific, were henceforth regarded as contemptible signs of cowardice and effeminacy. The young democracy of Athens, least among the Grecian commonwealths, was, by the vicissitudes of twenty-four hours, raised at once almost to the level of the heaven-descended monarchy of Sparta. Such was the beginning of the glory of Athens—its climax is equally well known. It was the age of Pericles, and even yet more than the age of Pericles, great as the accompaniments of that age might be, Pericles himself. It required no new artist to awaken an interest in that extraordinary man. To all students of Grecian literature he must always have appeared as the central *figure of Grecian history*. His form, and manner, and outward appearance, are all well known. We can imagine that stern and almost fore-

bidding aspect which repelled rather than invited intimacy: the majestic stature; the long head—long to disproportion—already before his fiftieth year silvered over with the marks of age; the sweet voice and rapid enunciation—recalling, though by an unwelcome association, the likeness of his ancestor Pisistratus. We know the stately reserve which reigned through his whole life and manners. Those grave features were never seen to relax into laughter—twice only in his long career to melt into tears. For the whole forty years of his administration he never accepted an invitation to dinner but once, and that to his nephew's wedding, and then stayed only till the libation, that is (as we should say), till the saying of grace. That princely courtesy could never be disturbed by the bitterest persecution of aristocratic enmity or popular irritation. To the man who had followed him all the way from the Assembly to his own house, loading him with all the abusive epithets with which, as we know from Aristophanes, the Athenian vocabulary was so richly stored, he paid no other heed than, on arriving at his own door, to turn to his torch-bearer, with an order to light his reviler home. In public it was the same. Amidst the passionate gesticulations of Athenian oratory, amidst the tempest of an Athenian mob, his self-possession was never lost, his dress was never disordered, his language was ever studied and measured. Every speech that he delivered he wrote down previously. Every time that he spoke he offered up a prayer to Heaven that no word might escape his lips which he should wish unsaid. But when he did speak, the effect was almost awful. The 'ferocious democracy' was struck down before it. It could be compared to nothing short of the thunders and lightnings of that Olympian Jove whom in majesty and dignity he resembled. It left the irresistible impression that he was always in the right. 'He not only throws me in the wrestle,' said one of his rivals, 'but when I have thrown him, he will make the people think that it is I and not he who has fallen.' What Themistocles, what Aristides, what Ephialtes, what Cimon said, has perished from the memory of their hearers. But the condensed and vivid images of Pericles, far more vivid in Grecian oratory, from their contrast with the general simplicity of ancient diction, than they would be now, were handed down from age to age as specimens of that eloquence which had held Athens and Greece in awe. 'The lowering of the storm of war' from Peloponnesus—the spring taken out of the year in the loss of the flower of Athenian youths—the comparison of Greece to 'a chariot drawn by two horses'—of Ægina to 'the eyesore of the Piræus'—of Athens to 'the school of Greece'—were amongst the traditional phrases which later writers preserved, and which Thucydides either introduced or imitated in the Funeral Oration which he has put in his mouth.

'All this—with the glory of poetry, and architecture, and sculpture, by which he was surrounded—has in some sense been long familiar to us. But it was reserved for Mr. Grote to bring out the whole figure in full relief against the history of the time, and to place it in the exact niche which it was entitled to occupy.'—Q. R.

## IV.

*The Monarchies of Greece.*

‘THE monarchies of Greece were of two kinds.

‘The Homeric monarch was the first among his peers, the small noble of a small Hellenic town. The simplicity of his rural and patriarchal life charms us in Homer. His celestial or uncertain parent illustrates, but his warlike prowess preserves, his power, and decides the great question of his government—whether he is to plunder or be plundered, to oppress or be oppressed. In war, becoming a general becomes a king; and, though Achilles salutes his chief with the epithet of drunkard, shameless dog, and coward, Ulysses inculcates subordination in lines which have become the commonplace of monarchists.

‘The other species of Grecian monarchy is that of the usurpers, which their countrymen called, and we miscall, the Tyrants, democrats carried into power on the ruins of a defeated aristocracy by the abuse of the confidence of the people, they lawlessly enjoyed the dominion which they had seized against the law, and fell by hands as lawless as their own. The beneficent and tasteful rule of Pisistratus and his sons, though sullied by at least one murder, may engage our fancy; but the caresses which Mitford bestows on those usurpers in the indulgence of his monarchical principles, might as justly be lavished on a Rienzi or Cromwell. To the constitutional monarchy of modern Europe, Greece obviously affords no parallel. As little does it afford a parallel to Christian absolutism; and the image of a Saint Louis was as foreign to the Grecian mind as the image of a Frederick William or of a Napoleon. —*Essays from the Times.*

## V.

*On the Historical Period of Greece.*

‘NOTHING is more important in history, and yet in all but the highest historical works nothing is more rare, than to apprehend clearly the great land-marks of successive epochs, and the leading characteristics of thought and feeling by which particular nations and particular generations are swayed; to know what especial marks divide man from man, fact from fact, age from age; to distinguish the different degrees of comparison (if we may so speak) in the significance or insignificance of the events which may come before us. From the most general view of mankind to the most minute incidents, Mr. Grote has laboured—successfully laboured—to reproduce the impression which they have upon the mind of the Greek people. We do not deny that his strong political bias has led him to bring out the practical and social aspects of Grecian life in disproportion to its moral and imaginative side; that occasionally—perhaps often—we may vainly seek in his work the elucidation both of facts and ideas which we feel to be necessary for the full explanation of the Grecian character and history. But

must be ungrateful students who will overlook the importance of what has been done for them, in consideration of what may possibly yet remain undone. The contrast of the moral state of the heroic with that of the latter ages of Greece—the enumeration of the various points which distinguished the moral sentiments of the Greek race from those of all contemporary nations—the power of Greek religion and Greek art as a uniting force to control ‘the centrifugal tendencies’ of Grecian politics—the extraordinary and definite impulse given to the Greek, and especially to the Athenian, mind by the first development of the democratic principle, as exemplified in the revolution of Clisthenes—the peculiar reputation won for Sparta at Thermopylæ, lost at Sphacteria, and regained at Mantinea, that ‘the Lacedæmonians die, but never surrender’—the permanent and impressive influence exercised over the feelings of every Grecian state by the regard to the rights of sanctuary and of the great festivals;—these are merely some out of many points in which the student of Greek history will feel that he has derived from these volumes a flood of light, in which the particular facts of the history stand out, as if for the first time, in distinct and intelligible relation with each other. Nor will he despise the vivid contrast and combination in which those facts themselves are placed. He will learn to recognise not merely a distinct character, but a distinct type of character, in the eminent men of the several periods, whom before he regarded much as we usually regard the fixed stars—their distance from each other lost in comparison of their distance from ourselves. Epimenides, Solon, Miltiades, Themistocles, Pericles, Socrates, are all successive steps in the lineage of the Grecian mind; and every one of those steps is marked in the successive stages of the descent, as enrolled in their pages, no less clearly than if each were presented to us in the costume or fashion which distinguished these several generations. And if from persons we descend even to the minute details, which need only to be pointed out in order to be observed, still the same watchful guide is at hand to prevent them from escaping our notice. The sunrise at the passage of the Hellespont; the whips by which the Persian officers drove on their soldiers to the battle; the magnificent personal appearance of the Great King himself; the frantic agony of despair pervading the sanctuary of Delphi as the mighty armament approached;—these are instances taken at random from the account of the expedition of Xerxes—to which, doubtless, others might be added from all parts of the history, to indicate the richness imparted to a narrative which one might have expected long before this to have been entirely exhausted.’—*Q. R.*

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## VI.

### *Ostracism.*

‘MR. GROTE’S warm panegyric on the ostracism certainly at first took us by surprise. We have been accustomed to consider that institution as an extreme resource; necessary, perhaps, on a very few occasions, yet liable to abuse so manifest, that a constitution which needed the

law lay justly under a heavy reproach; and as it was never used in Athens after the ostracism of Hyperbolus, we were sceptical of its ever having been really wanted. Mr. Grote, however, has forcibly pointed out, that while the democracy was new, the case was very different, and has convinced us that Kleisthenes was right in instituting it, though we still believe it would have been well if Aristides had abolished it immediately after the Persian war. What was useful in *terrorem* for the thirty years of the new constitution, was afterwards (it appears to us) of disservice, in teaching rival statesmen to aim at banishing one another, instead of forcing them to tolerate each other's constitutional influence in the 'opposition.' Athens would not have been so able to play the despot in Greece, and her whole history might have been altered by it.

—*Ecl. R.*

## VII.

### *The Legislative Assemblies.*

'BUT although in a senate composed by the determinations of chance, and an assembly which from its numbers must ever have been exposed to the agitation of eloquence and the caprices of fashion, there was evidently a crude and imperfect principle,—although two courts, containing in themselves the soul and element of contradiction, necessarily wanted that concentrated oneness of purpose propitious to the regular and majestic calmness of legislation, we cannot but allow the main theory of the system to have been precisely that most favourable to the prodigal exuberance of energy, of intellect, and of genius. Summoned to consultation upon all matters, from the greatest to the least, the most venerable to the most trite—to-day deciding on the number of their war-ships, to-morrow on that of a tragic chorus; now examining with jealous forethought the new barriers to oligarchical ambition; now appointing, with nice distinction, to various service the various combinations of music; now welcoming in their forum-senate the sober ambassadors of Lacedæmon, or the jewelled heralds of Persia; now voting their sanction to new temples, or the reverent reforms of worship; compelled to a lively and unceasing interest in all that arouses the mind, or elevates the passions, or refines the taste; supreme arbiters of the art of the sculptor, as the science of the lawgiver; judges and rewarders of the limner and the poet, as of the successful negotiator or the prosperous soldier:—we see at once the all-accomplished, all-versatile genius of the nation, and we behold in the same glance the effect and the cause: everything being referred to the people, the people learned of everything to judge. Their genius was artificially forced, and in each of its capacities. They had no need of formal education. Their whole life was one school. The very faults of their assembly, in its proneness to be seduced by extraordinary eloquence, aroused the emulation of the orator, and kept constantly awake the imagination of the audience. An Athenian was, by the necessity of birth, what Milton dreamt that man could only become by the labours of completest education: in peace a legislator, in war a soldier,—in all times, on all occasions, acute to judge, and resolute to act. All that can inspire the

thought or delight the leisure were for the people. Theirs were the portico and the school—theirs the theatre, the gardens, and the baths; they were not, as in Sparta, the tools of the State—they were the State! Lycurgus made machines, and Solon men. In Sparta the machine was to be wound up by the tyranny of a fixed principle; it could not dine as it pleased—it was not permitted to seek its partner save by stealth and in the dark; its children were not its own—even itself had no property in self. Sparta incorporated, under the name of freedom, the worst complexities, the most grievous and the most frivolous vexations, of slavery. And therefore was it that Lacedæmon flourished and decayed, bequeathing to fame men only noted for hardy valour, fanatical patriotism, and profound but dishonourable craft—attracting, indeed, the wonder of the world, but advancing no claim to its gratitude, and contributing no single addition to its intellectual stores. But in Athens the true blessing of freedom was rightly placed in the opinions and the soul. Thought was the common heritage, which every man might cultivate at his will. This unshackled liberty had its convulsions and its excesses, but producing unceasing emulation and unbounded competition, an incentive to every effort, a tribunal to every claim; it broke into philosophy with the one—into poetry with the other—into the energy and splendour of unexampled intelligence with all. Looking round us at this hour, more than four-and-twenty centuries after the establishment of the constitution we have just surveyed,—in the labours of the students, in the dreams of the poet, and in the aspirations of the artist—in the philosophy of the legislator—we yet behold the imperishable blessings we derive from the liberties of Athens and the institutions of Solon. The life of Athens became extinct, but her soul transfused itself, immortal and immortalizing, through the world.'—B.

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### VIII.

#### *The Internal History of the Athenian Democracy.*

'How acceptable this form of government was to the Athenian Demos, is sufficiently evinced by the firm attachment to it displayed during a period of several centuries, and by the pains which were taken to restore it to its original integrity, after every transient commotion by which it was endangered. But, however acceptable to the multitude, it could not conduce to the real good of the body politic, any longer than that degree of unanimity was maintained which is absolutely necessary to preserve a democracy from the disruption of interests which renders it a tyranny of the numerical majority over the minority. Every division of interests necessarily assumed the character of open feud, and, as no provision had been made in the institutions of the country prospectively to the rise of an opposition, they were the more endangered when the course of affairs and the vicissitudes the State experienced in its domestic and foreign relations necessarily produced one. Even the privilege of liberty of speech could, from its very nature, be of use only where all proceeded on the same principles to the same ends, disagreeing

only as to the means to be employed for their attainment: the State could but be a gainer by such rivalry as subsisted between Themistocles and Aristides. But so soon as the common good came to be only a secondary object, and each sought merely to derive the utmost advantage to his individual self from his political influence, disagreement as to the ends pursued entailed division in their pursuit: and it being impossible that the same form of constitution should be favourable to all alike, a struggle of parties arose, each wishing to use it as an instrument against the rest. Hence there was, on the one hand, a jealousy for its maintenance intact, on the other, an unceasing struggle for its change or overthrow; especially as the weaker party in Athens had not for its object, as in Rome, a mere participation in privileges possessed by the stronger. It was rather a merely numerical majority, which decided indeed all cases according to certain established forms of government, but whose interests were not, therefore, those of the community at large, for as soon as it had learnt to consider itself a distinct party, its declared object was the devoting all property alike, whether public or private, to the gratification of its own wants and desires.'—*Ess. f. T. N.*

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## IX.

### *Reflections upon Greek Political Government.*

'In reading the history of Greece, it is often difficult to decide which form of republican government is most unsuited to the growth of civil liberty. No sooner is our strong disapprobation of the democratical form excited, by some act of injustice on the part of the Athenian mob, than we find ourselves stopped in our inclination to prefer the government of the few, by some equal atrocity exercised either by the Lacedæmonians against their dependants, or by those rulers whom the Lacedæmonians had set up, against their fellow-citizens. The only firm conclusion is, that all governments, be they of what nature they may, whether monarchical, democratical, or oligarchical, that are founded upon usurpation, are necessarily prone to violence and oppression. In such governments the supreme power is always in the hands of a faction, who are compelled to seek their safety in keeping down their opponents. Equal justice is here impossible, because the duty of self-preservation supersedes all other claims. Every act of violence creates the necessity for some further act, in order to obviate the discontent which the first had produced; this again entails the necessity of a third; and thus cruelty and oppression go on, in an infinite series, until the force of compression is met by an equal force; and matters are righted by one of those political explosions which are attended with more or less ruin to individuals, according as the characters of those by whom the resistance is conducted, are men of violence or of virtue and moderation.'—*Enc. Metr.*

## X.

*Constitution of the Grecian Republics.*

'THERE is, perhaps, nothing in the whole compass of literature which so violently distracts the feelings of the reader between admiration and disgust as the history of the Grecian republics. The patriotism, the courage, the enterprising genius, the consummate ability which distinguished them in war; the activity and acuteness, the industry and taste displayed by them in all the arts of peace, have established them as the subjects of panegyric, and the models for imitation among all succeeding nations; while discord, rapine, and violence of every kind, proscriptions the most unjust, and revolutions the most bloody, continually occurring, excite a just horror in every virtuous mind, and reconcile to their lot those people who enjoy a less splendid reputation and less cultivated faculties under the peace and security of more settled governments. The miserable prevalence of sedition and domestic warfare, which proved the scourge and disgrace of Greece, is unquestionably attributable to the defect of her political constitutions; it is the inevitable result of a number of small independent states, in close contact with each other, yet united, for the most part, by no perceptible common interest, and stimulated to hostility by the predatory habits of the age, and by jealousies respecting the purity of their descent from the founders of the Hellenic family. Federalism is the only system which can, in any degree, bind the restless spirit of democracy; and so far was this system from being generally understood or desired in Greece, that the fundamental laws of almost all its republics tended directly to prevent its adoption. The *φενηλασία* of the Spartans was, more or less, the recognised principle of every state; and all connexion by marriage, or by the possession of property, with any adjoining city, was forbidden under severe penalties.

'The evil was seen and deplored by the wisest and best men of all ages; and great pains were taken, at various periods, to compose the jarring interests of the petty towns, by including them all under the supreme direction of two or three powerful states, with the title of allies. But the continual efforts of these greater powers to seduce or to compel the smaller republics from their allegiance to their rivals, and the violent political dissensions which thence arose in every town between the advocates of the opposing interests, proved a source of mischief no less extensive and fatal than the jealousies of the independent villages; and at length satisfied the impartial and reflecting portion of the people, that nothing but a confederacy on equal terms could ever produce lasting peace, and unite the whole Grecian name in one invincible league against foreign enemies. This liberal policy was of course opposed, and its success, in a great measure, defeated, by those overbearing states which had long exercised an oppressive empire over the smaller republics, and which regarded with indignation every attempt to deprive them of their supremacy.'—*E. Hist. of Gr.*



## XI.

*War of Troy.*

'In those wild and warlike times each tribe must have possessed its renowned warriors. We hardly know how the Homeric kings (for kings and kingly families there doubtless were) attained their power and eminence, unless by those surpassing qualities of strength and valour, and success or craft in war, which, as surely as they existed, must awaken the commemorative song of the bard. These were the κλέα ἀνδρῶν, the glories of the heroes, handed down as the precedents and examples of valour, the proud inheritance of the clan or the race; the deeds of known, recognised, bodily men, not figments of the poet's fancy; and having their real subjects on whom they might indulge the utmost prodigality of imagination, having the outlines of exploits which they might invest in the most glowing colours, true adventures ready to be deepened into the wildest romance, feats which they might safely embellish with inexhaustible marvel, can it be conceived that the bards would desert the beaten track of tradition to lead their heroes into strange and absolutely unknown paths?—that they would invent names foreign to the popular ear, wars of which the oldest warriors had never heard a rumour, commit them in battles with tribes against whom they had no memorial feud, lead them to besiege cities as imaginary as that in the *Birds* of Aristophanes?

'Every song, we have no doubt, grew out of the real life of the tribe or people, though, being addressed, as it was, and as Mr. Grote justly observes, to ancestral pride, to national glory, to every passion and disturbing emotion of an unreasoning and unreflecting state of society, it would endure every kind of addition and embellishment—all but the least elements of veracity might disappear. Poetic circumstances would be crowded around it; time would be lengthened or cut short; exploits divided by long intervals would follow in immediate sequence; the favourite heroes would rise to the most disproportionate magnitude; enemies would be raised or depressed as might suit the design of the poet. Popular belief, popular traditions, popular worship, national monuments, would thus commemorate, not the real event, but the poetic version of it; but though all the foliage and all the fruit belong to the engrafted branches, and we cannot mark off where the original stock begins, yet we doubt not that in most, if not in all, instances the latent root was truth.

'Let us illustrate this by the case of the war of Troy. Now, with Mr. Grote, we would fully agree that the Trojan war, as we now read it in the *Iliad*, in the tragedies, in the magnificent episode of Virgil from the later poets, is pure poetry. With him we will not even bow to the authority of Thucydides, as assigning, on any proper historic testimony, the causes or the conduct of the war. But that there was a Troy, and a siege—that there was a confederacy of the chieftains of European Greece, who made an expedition against the coast of Asia, and that the return of those chieftains was in many ways disastrous—we entertain not the least doubt. Every single circumstance of the war, its object, its duration, the relative importance of its heroes, may

be, and no doubt are, disguised, so as hardly to leave a glimpse of their real being. Helen may be as wild a vision as the naked goddesses before Paris; the transcendent prowess of Achilles as fictitious as his flight with Scamander; the death of Patroclus by the hand of Hector as fabulous as the wounding of Aphrodite by Diomed; the adventures of Ulysses, according to Payne Knight's illustration, may be as extravagant as Gulliver's Travels: still we insist on this, that in such an age no poem would have been ventured by any bard aiming at popularity (whatever his powers) which did not rest on elder traditions; and that these traditions could only have grown out of the actual exploits of the different tribes. When in the palaces of the Argive or Æolian, or the Pylian kings, the ἀοιδοὶ began to recount the adventures of Agamemnon, or Achilles, or Nestor, these were not names strange to their ear, invented (like the Rodomonte or Mandricardo of Boyardo) because they were high-sounding, but adopted because they were famous in the national traditions; he did not conjure up some strange city (like Albracca, the city of Gallafrone) of which there was no fame. Had he so done, we doubt whether, with all his enchantment, he would have been listened to for an instant. 'Sing us some of the songs of our own heroes,' the royal hearer would have sternly said to the unwelcome poet; 'celebrate some of our famous fights, of which we have heard of old.' But let the bard once strike on the chord of national reminiscence, once touch the string of ancestral pride, he might wander away among the wildest dreams of his fancy—the stirring picture, so it still continued true to names, and localities, and manners, might run out to the utmost limits of invention. Mr. Grote would probably admit that the Grecian mind had been long familiarized by ante-Homeric poets with the war of Troy. The *Iliad* unquestionably implies that knowledge; the poet could hardly otherwise have rushed into the midst of his subject. The first appellation of Achilles indicates but vaguely his country; Agamemnon is designated as the well-known king of men. We must be supposed already to have great respect for the family of Pelops, when we find so much importance attached to the hereditary transmission of their sceptre. Of Troy we have no description; we are supposed already to be perfectly acquainted with its site and description—with the course of the rivers. But if Homer built on elder bards, how can we doubt that they must have built upon something already in the minds of their hearers? We believe that it is altogether contrary to the genius of this kind of poetry to be creative. To the young, imaginative age of man, it is in the place of history—it is history. But though at that period the fancy and the religious sentiment are the predominant impulses of the mind, though there is neither the power nor the desire nicely to discriminate between fact and fiction, though everything naturally and necessarily takes the form of a myth, without which it would not gain a hearing—certainly would make no lasting impression—yet it offers itself as a record of the past, and the belief that it is such a record constitutes mainly its charm and its interest. Almost all ancient tribes, if they have nothing more, have barren genealogies. These genealogies, as the more ancient, being more obscure, leave ampler room for fiction; they rise till they are lost in mythic personages, heroes, or gods. But the later links in the chain can hardly be fictitious; and to those links it would be necessary for the popular poet to attach

more or less loosely his mythic songs. Unless, wherever the Iliad and Odyssey spread, the traditionary genealogies furnished Diomedes, and Agamemnons, and Nestors, they would have jarred upon, rather than harmonized with, the universal belief; and the same reasoning, we think, would apply to the very earliest songs which may have served as foundations for those great poems.'—*Q. R.*

THE END.

PREPARING FOR PUBLICATION,  
A NEW  
ANNOTATED EDITION  
OF  
THE ENGLISH POETS.

EDITED BY  
ROBERT BELL,  
AUTHOR OF  
'THE HISTORY OF RUSSIA,' 'LIVES OF THE ENGLISH POETS,' ETC.

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